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THE CHRISTIAN TRAVELLER

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THE

CHRISTIAN TRAVELLER.

WESTERN AFRICA.

BEING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PRODUCTS;

OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CONDITION; AND OF

THE MEASURES TAKEN FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BENEFIT.

LONDON:

CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., 22, LUDGATE STREET.

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THE

CHRISTIAN TRAVELLER.

INTRODUCTION.

MISSIONS AND CIVILIZATION.

[Suttee—Burning of a Hindoo widow upon her husband's funeral pile. See p. 3.]

As the connexion between Christianity and Civilization will, in the course of the present work, frequently come under our notice, it seems well that we should, at the outset of our labour, make the reader acquainted with the view of this important matter which the Missionary Societies have taken, as well as with that which we have ourselves been led to entertain.

It is obviously of the utmost importance to know to what extent, in what manner, and on what principles, the various societies are prepared or not prepared to undertake, or to assist in, the civilization of those nations which, not less in a moral than in a spiritual sense, "sit in darkness and the shadow of death."

Now, the societies have been led by circumstances to make up their minds on the subject, and have been anxious to promulgate the views on which they have acted in this matter, and on which they still intend to act. Their several Secretaries must be considered as the organs of their opinions, and among them we find a remarkable unanimity in the principal conclusions—that civilization, beyond a certain limit, is not possible without Christianity—that Christianity inevitably leads to civilization—that civilization in itself is no necessary preparation to Christianity—and that, therefore, they will not attempt to prepare barbarous nations

for Christianity by civilization, but are willing to promote and foster civilization as an effect and consequence of Christianity.

In the year 1836 the Secretaries of the several Societies were examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to "consider what measures ought to be adopted with respect to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights; to promote civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion."

The important and valuable evidence given before this Committee, of which Mr. (now Sir) T. F. Buxton was chairman, will be of great service to us in the progress of this work. Among the witnesses examined were the secretaries of the various Missionary Societies. Mr. Dandeson Coates, the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society, brought the matter forward in an able and luminous statement, to the principles contained in which the secretaries of the Wesleyan and London Societies declared their adhesion, and which they supported by a variety of arguments and illustrations. We will endeavour to produce the substantial matter of this truly "great argument," reserving the particular illustrations, to be produced as we come among the various nations by which they are supplied.

Mr. Dandeson Coates was asked—

"4376. Does your experience lead you to believe that it would be advisable to begin with civilization in order to produce Christianity, or with Christianity in order to lead to civilization?"

He answered—

"Most distinctly with Christianity in order to the civilization of a savage people, in any proper sense of the term civilization. Of course a good deal will depend upon what is meant by civilization. If civilization be intended to mean the moral and social improvement of a people, my opinion is distinctly that Christianity is the instrument by which to bring it about. I form this opinion from several reasons, derived partly from the nature of Christianity itself, and partly from the history of Christianity. I feel the question proposed to me by the Committee to be a very serious one, and therefore trust the Committee will extend their indulgence to me in attempting an answer to it.

"I think I should not do justice to a question of this gravity without first adverting (and I will do it very briefly indeed) to the reasons for the opinion, derived from the nature of Christianity itself: I find the preceptive part of Christianity tends to make men peaceable, honest, sober, industrious, and orderly. These, in my opinion, are the very elements of civilization, in the moral sense of it. I find in the Christian scheme the doctrines of man's fallen state through sin, redemption by Christ, renovation by the power of the Holy Ghost, and the great and awful sanction of an eternal judgment. Now it is clear to my mind that the impression of these great principles on the heart of man tends directly to make him humble, self-denying, philanthropic, beneficent, apart from the consideration of those effects of the doctrines which may be considered more strictly of a religious or theological kind. Those principles, I apprehend, cannot exist in force in any community without the moral and social well-being of that community being greatly promoted. I look again into the Christian scheme, and observe the very emphatic description of the Gospel: it is declared to be 'the power of God.' I think that the phrase must be understood to imply, in any reasonable interpretation of the words, a Divine influence accompanying the preaching of the Gospel. I see therefore in that an arrangement and process by which the human mind is to be operated upon in a more powerful manner than any other agency that can be imagined. I look further into the Christian scheme, and find it to be a revelation from God: now if God be, as the Bible teaches us that he is, supreme in benevolence and beneficence, as well as in power, wisdom, and knowledge, then I think the inference is most clear and irrefragable, that to bring that revelation to bear upon mankind is to promote their temporal welfare, as well as to provide for their eternal salvation. I very slightly allude to these important topics, because I am unwilling to trespass unnecessarily for a single moment on the time of the Committee; but, considering the extreme weightiness of the question, I think I should not have fairly brought it under the notice of the Committee without thus briefly referring to these considerations.

"But I pass to the second series of reasons—those which are derived from the history of Christianity. This is a branch of the subject of such immense extent that it would be quite impracticable for me to do more than to glance at it, in the most rapid way possible, on an occasion like the present. If I look at the state of the world when at the rise of Christianity it found Rome in the zenith of her power and glory, in the highest state of civilization, as civilization could exist in a heathen land, that mankind was ever advanced to, perhaps with the exception of Greece, which was already on the decline from her glory, and therefore I do not more particularly refer to Greece: in Rome at this period, among other practices which I will not dwell upon, that of

selling their prisoners of war into slavery prevailed, and that of exposing their prisoners of war in their public games. I find, too, in Rome, at that period, their gladiatorial games—man opposed to man in mortal conflict. And this is not an accidental occurrence, but an established order of things, exhibited, not in private, not only occasionally but habitually at their theatres, and to the most polished and distinguished of the whole population. What do I find at the expiration of a few ages? Christianity attains the ascendency, and these things are extinct.

"I dwell on no other topic of ancient history, but come down to modern times. I contrast the state of the European nations with, I will not say, those of Africa, but with the more civilized nations of Asia; and here I trace a distinction so broad and obvious that it need not be insisted on. I see clearly that it is Christianity which has conferred upon the European nations this distinction.

"I would only attempt further to illustrate this bearing of the subject from three or four facts of a recent date. At a recent period suttees prevailed throughout our possessions in India; they are now prohibited. The voice of Christianity in this country unquestionably wrought the change. The abominable pilgrim-tax is suppressed in India by authority, and this was effected by the expression of Christian opinion and feeling in this country. I look back on the enormous evils of the slave trade: the slave trade is suppressed, and suppressed unquestionably by the force of Christianity in this country. I come to a still more recent period—a very recent one indeed: I see slavery abolished throughout the colonies, and that at the cost of 20,000,000*l.* of public money; the result, most unequivocally, of the state of Christian principle and feeling in the country—a national act, I will venture to affirm, unparalleled in the whole history of human legislation, the glory of which redounds exclusively to Christianity."

After this Mr. Coates proceeds to take up the question under a different aspect—namely, as illustrated by the effects of modern Protestant Missions. The evidence is clear under this head; but as it is derived from various nations which in due time we hope to visit, we shall not produce it in this place.

Finally, Mr. Coates was asked by Mr. Gladstone—

"4383. Although you laid the principal stress upon the introduction of Christianity, you do not overlook civilization, but you consider that civilization will be the natural companion and consequence of the effect of the introduction of Christianity?—Most certainly; and I am very glad the question has been put to me, because I rather feared that perhaps I had not distinctly conveyed my own impression upon that point in what I previously stated to the Committee. Though I have a very clear opinion as to the efficacy of Christianity as an instrument of civilization, I should not be disposed to represent Christianity as preceding civilization, because the moment Christian principle begins to bear upon the mind of man, from that moment his condition as a civilized being advances, and hence Christianity and civilization advance *pari passu*. It is therefore, I conceive, impossible that civilization should stand still, or not go on in its due ratio, so long as Christian principle is duly brought to bear upon the population.

"4384. Do you think they stand in the relation of cause and effect?—Precisely."

The Committee then desired to hear the sentiments, on this subject, of the Rev. John Beecham, one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. He said:—

"4385. My attention has been long directed to this subject, and the firm conviction of my mind that Christianity must precede civilization is the result of the inquiries and observation which I have made. So far has my experience been from proving that civilization is necessary to prepare barbarous nations for the reception of the Gospel, that it has led me to the conclusion that the only effectual way to civilize them is first to evangelize them. I regard Christianity as the parent of civilization, and am persuaded that true civilization cannot be produced without it; I say true civilization, because I am aware that a certain kind of civilization may exist unconnected with Christianity. I have heard reference made to ancient Greece and Rome, for the purpose of showing that there may be civilization without Christianity; but if all true civilization includes the humanities of life, then I must conclude that those celebrated nations had not attained unto it. When I look, for instance, at the theatres of Rome, and witness the gladiatorial shows and fights of men with wild beasts, which were there exhibited, and recollect that such spectacles of cruelty constituted the amusements of the Roman public; and when I moreover remember that in Rome there were no hospitals, no dispensaries, no almshouses, no asylums for the deaf and dumb and blind; in short, none of those humane and charitable institutions which adorn our own Christian land,—I cannot conclude that the civilization of the classic heathen was anything better than a splendid barbarism; and whatever may be advanced in its praise, I must still, notwithstanding, hold that true civilization,—the only kind of civilization that the Christian philanthropist can be supposed anxious to promote,—cannot be originated but by means of Christianity.

"4386. You are distinctly of opinion that the communication of Christianity must precede an attempt to convey civilization through the understanding of man merely?—Certainly.

"4387. Will you give the reasons why you think the plan of civilization cannot succeed?—I would assign two reasons. In the first place, the want of a suitable agency would alone go far to secure its failure. The mere civilizing plan does not in my opinion furnish motives powerful

enough to induce men to give up the comforts of Christian and civilized society, and dwell among barbarians, merely to teach them civilization. There is nothing, as I think, but the love of the souls of the heathen that will prove a motive powerful enough to induce individuals to make such sacifices, and risk even life too. Men may be found who are ready to lay their lives upon the missionary altar, but I think you would not find any considerable number of persons who are prepared to sacrifice their lives merely to civilize the heathen.

"4388. Would you not also extend that observation, that there are no adequate motives to the persons that are to be instructed?—Yes. But before I advert to that topic I would observe, that we have one case in our own experience as a missionary society which illustrates the principle I have last laid down. I am not aware that our society has ever engaged in more than one attempt to civilize the heathen, in order to prepare them for the reception of the Gospel:—About forty years since an attempt of that kind was made by Dr. Coke, the founder of our missions. He was induced to form a plan for the purpose of introducing civilization among the Foulahs of Western Africa. A number of well-disposed artisans, of various descriptions, were engaged to go and settle among the Foulahs, and it was calculated that, after some progress had been made in civilization, missionaries might then be sent to preach the Gospel to those whom civilization should have thus prepared. This undertaking made considerable stir at the time. It was patronised by Mr. Wilberforce and other leading men of the day, and great expectations were excited respecting its success. However, it failed entirely; and it failed for this very reason, that the agents who were engaged to carry the scheme into execution did not find sufficient motives to induce them to persevere. They reached Sierra Leone, and there their courage failed them. The motives which had influenced them to embark in the undertaking were not powerful enough to impel them to advance into the interior of the country and settle among the Foulahs for the purpose of merely civilizing them.

"4389. Were the whole of these men mechanics, or people in that class of life?—They were all mechanics. My statement of the second reason that I have to assign why the plan of beginning with civilization does not succeed, will furnish an answer to the question which I only briefly noticed in passing. I do not think that civilization possesses attractions, or furnishes motives powerful enough to induce savages to forsake their course of life for its sake.* Civilized life is too tame, too insipid, to charm the roving barbarian; and his superstitions are generally found opposed to any change in his accustomed course of life. You must bring the higher motives of the Gospel to bear upon his mind, he must be made to feel the great and important truths of religion before he will discover anything desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to pursue it. I believe that the charm of the superstitions of the heathen would alone, in many instances, be powerful enough to prevent them from forsaking the customs of their ancestors, merely for the sake of civilization. It is only when the truths of the Gospel produce their powerful effect upon the minds of the heathen, and arouse them to a consideration of their higher destinies; it is only when they are brought under the influence of a belief in the true religion, that they will dare to break through the bondage of their superstitions, and forsake their paternal customs, which are generally bound up with the superstitions themselves.

"4390. Has your society since endeavoured to introduce Christianity among the tribes to which you have referred as instances where the mere civilizing process had failed?—Yes. To begin again with the Foulahs: although Dr. Coke was not able to find men who were willing to give up the comforts of civilized life in order to teach them civilization, we easily found men who would leave their native country, and go into the interior of Africa and settle among them, for the purpose of teaching them the Gospel. We commenced a mission amongst this people about two or three years since. I am happy to say that the mission is of the most hopeful character; the Foulahs listen to the Gospel, and several of them have already given proof, by a change in their tempers and their lives, that they have experienced its saving efficacy.

"4396. Do you find that the plan of beginning with the Gospel generally succeeds?—Yes, not only with the aborigines of America, but also among the degraded negroes of the West Indies, as well as the remains of the Carib race which formerly peopled those colonies; among various tribes and nations of West and Southern Africa, among the Hindoos of India, the Budhists of Ceylon, the savage cannibals of New Zealand, and the other islanders of the South Sea. In the Friendly Islands the results of our misssionary operations are very remarkable. It is scarcely ten years since we commenced our missions in that part of the world; and the ancient idolatry of the people has been already to a very great extent abolished. In the whole of the Habai group there is not a single idolater remaining, and about 8000 of the inhabitants of Habai, Vavou, and Tonga, have become communicants; while many hundreds of them are so far advanced in Christian knowledge that they are now engaged in assisting the missionaries to preach the Gospel, or in other ways teaching their countrymen. I would further remark upon the plan of beginning with the Gospel, and say, that success to a certain extent has invariably attended our missionary exertions among the heathen. I do not know an instance in the experience of our society where our endeavours have proved wholly abortive. Wherever we have made attempts to introduce the

* We doubt this. If it be true, how does it happen that nearly all the nations now or formerly civilized originally changed their savage or barbarous modes of life without Christianity? In fact, the change is taking place every day, among the nomades of Asia, for example.

Gospel among a barbarous people, and have persevered in the use of suitable means, a degree of success has always resulted. And I would add a fact or two which completely demolish the theory that civilization is necessary to prepare the way for Christianity. One fact is, that many of the most savage tribes are more easily brought under the influence of Christianity than those nations that have been for ages in a state of semi-civilization. Take, for instance, the case of China. I apprehend it will be generally admitted that China presents greater obstacles to the introduction of the Gospel than the most barbarous nations of the earth. Look again at India, with its literature, its science, and its arts: I do not hesitate to say, that, so far as our experience goes, we find that many of the most ignorant and uncultivated heathen tribes receive the Gospel more readily than the inhabitants of India. The other fact to which I refer is, that where the modern preparatory process has partially succeeded, so far from serving to prepare the heathen for the Gospel, it has only made them more savage and ferocious, and less disposed than ever to embrace Christianity. The Mohawk Indians are an instance of this."

Mr. Beecham then produces some instances in which civilization has followed the exertions of the missionaries in Africa and America. He then proceeds:—

"Having adduced evidence furnished by the experience of our own society, with which that of other missionary societies will, I doubt not, be found to concur, in support of the conclusion, that wherever the Gospel is introduced civilization invariably follows, I will not occupy the attention of the Committee longer than will be necessary to state, in few words, my reasons for believing that this connexion between the two is not accidental, but that Christianity produces, or, in other words, is the parent of, civilization. I would observe, on this point, that the circumstance of our always finding civilization following in the train of the Gospel is of itself a presumption that Christianity has something to do with originating it; but I think, on examining the subject, I can perceive something between the two like the relation of cause and effect.

"No sooner does the Gospel begin to operate upon the mind of the heathen than it leads to the first step in civilization. It is shortly seen to be indecorous and improper for persons to meet together in a state of filthiness and comparative nudity in the public worship of Almighty God. The people themselves are soon made to feel, under the teaching of the missionaries, that a more decent exterior is necessary; and thus the first step is taken in civilization, and clothing is introduced. As the next step, the Gospel induces a settled course of life, and tends to promote industry. The people having become desirous to hear the Gospel preached, find it necessary to renounce their wandering life, and to have a settled abode, in order that they may enjoy the regular ordinances of religion. That follows as a kind of necessary consequence. They cannot attend the ministry of the Gospel, the influence of which they are beginning to feel, and the ministry of which they are desirous to enjoy, without changing their mode of life.

"Having changed their mode of life so far as to take up a settled abode, industry becomes necessary for them to maintain themselves; they are no longer dependent upon the chase; and industrious habits are consequently formed.

"Education, which is another step in the process of civilization, seems naturally to follow. The missionary, in preaching to the heathen, does not deliver his own opinions—he does not speak on his own independent authority; but he tells the people whom he addresses, that the doctrines he delivers are all found in a book which he holds in his hand, and which he calls the word of God; and which he tells them it is important that they should also be able to consult. This creates in their minds a desire for school instruction, and many are soon found, in the character of pupils, anxiously endeavouring to learn to read the word of that God who has been so lately made known to them.

"Then follows another stage of the civilizing process:—The Gospel originates the moral virtues,—truth, honesty, fidelity, chastity,—and, denouncing polygamy (a fruitful source of evil among savage people), it maintains the sanctity of the marriage vow; and thus does it produce as its direct and proper effect the virtues which constitute, to so great an extent, the bond of civilized life.

"In intimate connexion with the moral virtues, the Gospel brings in the humanities of life. While it enforces that the husband shall be faithful to his one wife, it enjoins also that he love her as his own flesh; and thus it raises woman from that state to which heathenism invariably depresses her. The Gospel teaches parents to love their offspring, and to regard them as immortal spirits confided to their care, and which they are under obligation to train for eternity; and the mind of the heathen being brought under the influence of this teaching, at once infanticide is abolished. The Gospel imposes on children a corresponding obligation to love and reverence their parents; and no sooner is this obligation felt by the heathen than they are seen comforting and supporting their aged parents, instead of leaving them to perish in the jungle, or be devoured by wild beasts. Then again the Gospel enjoins on all to be merciful and forgiving one to another, as they hope to be forgiven of God, and this is no sooner admitted than an end is put to violence and deeds of blood. It is in this way I trace the necessary connexion between Christianity and civilization, and perceive how the former originates the latter. It is by such an investigation I reach the conclusion, that wherever the Gospel exerts its full and legitimate influence, true civilization must follow as a natural and necessary consequence. The Committee have now my views upon the entire question, from which it will be inferred that the conclusion which I am anxious to impress is, that you first seek to evangelize the world, and in so doing you will be sure at the same time to civilize it."

He was then asked—

"4412. Then you do not understand civilization to consist merely in an abundance of the comforts and luxuries of life?—No. Instances have been referred to, in the course of this examination, of persons who have had literature, science, and arts, as well as the comforts and enjoyments of life, and at the same time have been little better than savages, devoid of the moral virtues and of the humanities of life; and where these are not, there can be no true civilization.

"4413. Do you think that there exists any nation on the face of the globe thoroughly civilized?—Not in the highest sense of the expression. Our own country may perhaps be regarded as the best specimen that can be produced of a civilized nation; but there is a very considerable portion of the population even of this country which cannot be said, in the correct sense of the expression, to be thoroughly and properly civilized.

"4414. Do you think that any nation can be said to be thoroughly civilized till all its laws completely recognise the great principle of Christianity, 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you?'—The more nearly that a nation approaches to that standard, in the highest degree does it enjoy civilization.

"4415. That is, in other words, that it is not civilized till that is done?—Not in the fullest sense of the term."

These latter answers deserve much attention, as they serve to define the sense in which the word "civilization" is employed.

The Rev. William Ellis, one of the secretaries of the London Missionary Society, was next examined with reference to this question. His testimony possesses a peculiar interest, from the fact that he had himself formerly, and for many years, been actively employed on these missions in the South Seas, where the finest results of Christian civilization have been produced.

He was asked by Mr. Buxton—

"4416. Does your experience lead you to believe that it would be advisable to begin with civilization in order to lead the way to the introduction of Christianity, or with Christianity in order to introduce civilization?—True civilization and Christianity are inseparable; the former has never been found but as a fruit of the latter. An inferior kind of civilization may precede Christianity, and prevail without it to a limited extent: such, for instance, as the adoption, by comparatively rude tribes, of the dress and modes of living of more cultivated society, a taste for their arts, manufactures, and comforts. All this may occur without any change of character. This kind of civilization is only superficial: it may polish and smooth the exterior of human society, but it leaves the deep foundations of crime and wretchedness, the vices of human nature, which are the causes of all barbarism in every part of the world, untouched, and consequently supplies no sufficient remedy for the evils to be removed. My experience would lead me to regard this inferior kind of civilization as a very inefficient means of promoting the improvement of the native inhabitants of different countries. The communication with members of a more advanced state of society, by which it is produced, has often occasioned the most serious impediments to the introduction of Christianity, and it certainly would not predispose men to admit the moral claims of the Christian religion. The advantages this kind of civilization offers have not proved inducements sufficiently powerful to overcome the long-confirmed habits of uncivilized nations, while their intercourse with Europeans has generally added the vices of the latter to those of the aborigines, and has increased in a fearful degree the miseries which prevailed before. If the introduction of Christianity, therefore, be the object contemplated, that kind of civilization which results from intercourse between the natives and those who have gone among them solely for purposes of traffic or colonization is an impediment, and not a means of preparing them to receive it.

"This view of the subject is forced upon me by my own experience during a number of years spent partly among tribes who had scarcely seen an European before, and partly among others who had been for a long time in communication with foreigners for barter and other purposes. I am not aware of a single instance in which the kind of civilization thus produced has led any tribe to desire a knowledge of Christianity, or has predisposed them to receive it. On the other hand, there are instances, satisfactory and decisive, of numbers having been brought to embrace Christianity without this previous process of civilization; I advert to those furnished in the history of the introduction of Christianity among the North American Indians by the labours of Brainerd, Elliott, and others; also to the introduction of Christianity into Greenland by the Moravians, where they had not been preceded by any civilizing process, and where the most decided results have followed. It is thus clearly shown that it is neither necessary nor advantageous for civilization to precede Christianity; and it is a fact of great importance in the present inquiry that Christianity has never been introduced into any nation or tribe where civilization has not invariably followed. The process may be rapid, or the reverse, according to circumstances; but in proportion as individuals receiving Christianity yield themselves to its influence, just in that proportion they must be civilized. No man can become a Christian, in the true sense of the term, however savage he may have been before, without becoming a civilized man. Christianity produces civilization of the best and most durable kind, by supplying motives and considerations which overcome the vicious propensities and habits of

the uncivilized, and furnishes a safe and certain rule for its attainment. This rule is given in a form so simple as not to be above the capacity of the lowest intellect, and yet so comprehensive as to include the widest range of social obligations: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' In the motives it implants, and the precepts it inculcates, Christianity furnishes a complete moral machinery for carrying forward all the great processes which lie at the root of civilization. It teaches the practice of humanity, purity of heart and life, honesty, truth, industry, and justice; the promotion of peace on earth, and good will among men. It is well known that impurity and deeds of atrocious cruelty are the great deformities of uncivilized societies, and the most fruitful sources of their miseries. Christianity purifies and changes the heart, and thus most effectually removes these evils, while it makes ample provision for the cultivation of the higher affections of our nature, love to God, our benefactor, and to our fellow-creatures, urging all on the understanding and the conscience by the revelation of a future state (with which the heathen, however far advanced in civilization, are altogether unacquainted), and sanctions of reward or punishment according to the conduct of men in the present life. Upon that ground it is my conviction that Christianity supplies materials and machinery for promoting civilization of the highest order."

Mr. Ellis then proceeds to corroborate these sentiments by instances drawn from the South Sea Islands, to which we shall have great pleasure in hereafter calling the attention of our readers.

It is well known that the excellent Society of Friends (Quakers), although foremost in every work of benevolence and philanthropy, and anxious to promote the civilization and happiness of men, are quite indisposed to co-operate in any direct way in the vigorous efforts for the evangelization of the world which all other religious bodies are now making. This does not arise from any indifference to the diffusion of Christianity; but from the conscientious belief that the evangelization of the world, or of classes or individuals in it, is purely a spiritual work—that the Spirit of God not only *can* (which everybody admits) but *will* and *does* act cogently in due season, raising up and working through whatever agencies are deemed proper, without needing or approving our puny and prepared plans and operations towards the accomplishment of a work which is purely and specially His own.

Now, of course, we think that these are sound principles worked out into most impotent practical conclusions. If we thought otherwise, this work need not have been undertaken. However, the Friends having excluded themselves from the field of direct Missionary labour, have thrown themselves on other fields with all the more ardour, and have worked in them with untiring labour and perseverance. No one is ignorant how importantly they contributed to the (legal) abolition of the slave trade, and to the emancipation of the English slaves; and every one knows how much the Bible Society, and all plans for general education, have owed to their support. They have also taken interest in the civilization of barbarous nations; and have not been unwilling to co-operate with the missionaries as long as they understood that the means supplied by themselves were appropriated not to spiritual teaching, but to education and civilization. And as they are not unwilling to consider means of this secondary character as tending in some degree to prepare the way of the Lord, their testimony as to the effect of such operations is of great value.

An American member of this body, Mr. Elisha Bates, was examined before the Committee. He was asked—

"Have you had any opportunities of forming an opinion upon the subject of whether it is advisable among savage tribes to introduce civilization in order to open the way for Christianity, or to begin with Christianity in order to facilitate the approach to civilization?—I think I have. The Society of Friends have been engaged for many years past in efforts for the civilization and improvement of several tribes of Indians in the United States.

"The plan which the Society of Friends adopted in their early intercourse with the [Shawnee] Indians was to attempt civilization first. The religious communications, so far as I am informed, and I have made it a subject of some investigation, were those of a very general character, recognising the being of a God, and the accountability of man, but not with special reference to the peculiar doctrines of the Christian religion. An idea seemed to have been formed that civilization was to make way for the introduction of the doctrines of the Christian religion. The establishment to which I have had my attention more particularly directed was in the western part of the state of Ohio. At this place there has been during the last 20 or 30 years (the precise time I cannot give) a family maintained by the Society of Friends among the Indians, having steadily in view their improvement in civilization. In the year 1832 the Indians, having sold their reservation in the state of Ohio, removed to a location on the west of the Mississippi. About the time

of their leaving that reservation, a delegation of the committee to which I have referred visited them; they were then in a state of some improvement in civilized life; they had made some advances in agricultural pursuits, and in an improved mode of living; and in a council which they held, they expressed, in warm terms, their gratitude to the Society of Friends, and earnestly requested that we would continue our attention to them; in their peculiar phraseology, 'that we would hold them by the hand, and not let them go;' that is, continue our attention and kindness to them beyond the Mississippi. To this location we have concluded to follow them; but within the last few years we have had occasion to review the whole course of proceedings, and we have come to the conclusion, from a deliberate view of the past, that we erred, sorrowfully erred, in the plan which was originally adopted, in making civilization the first object; for we cannot count on a single individual that we have brought to the full adoption of Christianity."

The rest of Mr. Bates's evidence is chiefly in corroboration of this statement.

It was our intention to have gone through the statements contained in this evidence, showing how far we wished to be understood as agreeing or disagreeing with the views which have been produced. The reader has a right to expect that we should acquaint him with the views by which the statements and opinions placed before him in this work are likely to be influenced. But in giving him this information, it now seems the best and shortest way to state in a direct manner the views we have been led to take, leaving to the reader the employment of tracing the agreements and differences, which latter will not, we trust, be very numerous.

The question, "What is this *civilization*, of which so much is said?" meets us at the very outset. It is evident that the secretaries laboured under some strong difficulty, from the manner in which they speak of "true civilization," as distinct from some inferior civilization; and from Mr. Beecham's doubt that there was any truly civilized nation in the world.

The root of this difficulty seems to us to lie in the fact that two things perfectly distinct, and which may, or may not, be found together, are usually involved in the one name of "civilization;" so that in this, as in a thousand other matters, difficulties are created by the absence of a precise distinction of terms. These two things are—first, the civilization of the outward life, apart from any moral sentiments, good or bad: *this* is CIVILIZATION, properly so called. The other is the amelioration of the moral sentiments, which has an important, but not an essential or inseparable, connexion with the external civilization. Now, seeing that CIVILIZATION properly describes a condition of outward life, and nothing else, it is an evil thing to employ the same word for a condition of moral feeling; and if, therefore, the word must be retained, we should like to distinguish this last application of it as *civilization of heart*—say *heart civilization*:—but we would rather abandon this application of the word, and give to this moral condition the name of HUMANIZATION:—and very properly; because the more a man advances in this condition, the more he resembles *man* as he originally came clean from the hands of his Maker.

CIVILIZATION describes that condition of life in which men abandon the wild life of savages and barbarians—of hunters and even of shepherds; and cultivate the ground, build houses and towns, establish organized governments, and apply themselves to those arts which tend to increase the welfare and comforts of their condition. To this the fine arts, science, literature, philosophy, are in due time added, and form parts of the higher state of civilization. We do not say of "*true* civilization." All civilization is true, as distinguished from the savage and barbarous conditions; even as a blade of grass is not less a "true" plant than a rose, although they *differ* greatly.

To *this* civilization, *that* which we have called humanization is a crowning grace, an ornament, a beauty, a blessing;—essential to its blessedness, but not essential to its existence:—and not further essential to its blessedness, than as it is essential to the blessedness of every condition.

What is meant by HUMANIZATION, no one needs be told; yet it may be desirable to indicate its prominent characteristics. It is—but why need we give its description? There is not a point it would embrace which has not already been given by an Apostle, in his description of the sort of character which *Christianization* produces. It is, then, "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without

hypocrisy." (Jam. iii. 17.) Some one or more of these qualities may be possessed by characters not yet humanized or Christianized—whether with or without civilization; but in the well humanized or well Christianized character they are all combined and inseparably connected; and the interweaving of these fine golden threads in the fabric of civilized society produces that *humanized civilization* which the secretaries mean by that "true civilization," the imperfect exhibition of which in the best-conditioned communities they acknowledge and deplore.

Now, that civilization may exist without humanization, need not be declared by us. The secretaries show that it was so in Greece and Rome, whose highly civilized condition none who know anything will dispute. In our own day, China is undoubtedly a civilized country: but that it is not humanized, is sufficiently indicated by the prevalence of infanticide and of torturous punishments. In fact, look at the description which the Apostle Paul applies to the most civilized nations of antiquity, as evincing the general absence of the humanized character. In one distinct and horrifying statement he opens the mystery of their condition; and there is not one point of his enumeration which is not capable of the most ample corroboration from the surviving pages and pictured monuments of the countries to which he refers:—"They became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened! Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. . . . . For this cause God gave them up to *vile passions*. . . . . And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to an undiscerning mind, to do those things which are not fit. Being filled with all injustice, fornication, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity, whisperers, evil-speakers, haters of God, injurious, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without consideration, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." (Rom. i. 21—31.)

These were the natural effects of a system, under which the religion, such as it was, involved no moral duties. The priests taught a religion without morality, and the philosophers taught a morality without religion—and both were equally inoperative upon the moral sentiments. This point it is useless to pursue further, for whatever may be said for the civilization, the man does not live who will stand up in behalf of the humanization of the Greek, Roman, or Egyptian character.

And as civilization may exist apart from humanization, so may humanization exist apart from at least high civilization. In our own remoter villages, and among the Alpine valleys, there are people not more civilized—perhaps not so much civilized—certainly not more intelligent, and probably not better furnished with the comforts and arts of life than many of those—dwellers in huts and cottages—whom we call "savages" when we speak of Africa or

[Huts and Fence: New Zealand.]

the South Seas; yet they are humanized—they are replete with all true affections, abhor cruelty, hate injustice, love mercy, and are full of probity, gentleness, and truth. They are sound at heart

Here it may be objected or remarked—"Oh, but these are Christians!" Exactly: we confess we are unable to find these qualities in any but Christian countries. This we say not lightly, or for the purposes of an argument. We have made ourselves well acquainted with the moral sentiments and condition of the people in many countries; and although it often happens, individually, that—

> "We who acquaint ourselves with every zone,
> And cross the tropics, and behold each pole,
> When we come home are to ourselves unknown,
> And unacquainted still with our own soul;"—DAVIS.

yet it were hard if some materials for collective comparisons be not thus obtained. Foremost among such comparisons, we must declare—and with great pain we do so—that except in highly Christianized communities we have been able to find only very faint traces of that *conscientiousness* which forms the very foundation of the really humanized character. It is the want of this—far more than any other want—which engages the notice of the Christian Traveller, and practically occasions him the most annoyance in whatever countries not highly Christianized he visits, whether these countries be "civilized," or not.

Since, therefore, humanization of character exists among people not highly civilized; since we could find no better description of the humanized character than in the description of the Christian character which the Apostle James has given; and since, in fact, the well humanized character is only to be found in a well Christianized community;—it follows that *civilization* has no immediate and essential connexion with or result from Christianity; but that *humanization* springs, necessarily and immediately, from the principles which it inculcates and the feelings which it cherishes. From no other religion does this spring. For there is no other religion which represents God in so many aspects of benignity to man—and therefore as an object of LOVE not less than of reverence. And this manifestation of God leads, by a most beautiful sequence, to the manifestation of man as an object of love—of diffused benevolence—to man—to all men, apart from all class distinctions or interests—apart from country, language, colour, or clime.

Let any one consider the peculiarly humanizing effect of such declarations as the following, upon those who receive them in sincerity, or upon those who, at least formally, so recognise their authority, as to allow a constant reference to them as to standards of right sentiments and acts. Hear the proclamation of his own character by God himself:—"The Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed: The Lord: the Lord God, merciful, and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth." (Exod. xxxiv. 6.) "The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." (Psalm xxxiii. 5.) "The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and of great mercy." (Psalm cxlv. 8.); "God . . . . the father of mercies, and the God of all comfort." (2 Cor. i. 3.) "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." (Psalm ciii. 13.) "Thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious, and merciful, slow to anger, of great kindness." (Neh. ix. 17.) "God is kind to the unthankful and to the evil." (Luke vi. 35.) "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all?" (Mal. ii. 10.)

From these benign and paternal relations, God is proposed as the object of our love; and space would fail us to cite the passages in which man is called upon to *love* God as well as to venerate him. This is made a duty; and as the man who loves God is sure to be right in other things, this is often stated as the abstract and compendium of all other duties. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might," is declared by Christ himself to represent all the other duties of man to God. (Matt. xxii. 37.) It was, he said, "the first and great commandment;" and he failed not to add, "and the other is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The two duties are thus intimately connected with the relation of cause and effect. This relation was perceived and enforced by the Apostles. What an immense force of humanizing influences is contained in such a passage as this!—"Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for GOD IS LOVE. In *this* was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-

begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, *if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.*" (1 John iv. 7—11.) Again: "If a man say, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also." (v. 20, 21.) Thus the man who loves God, as exhibited in the Scripture, loves also his brother—his neighbour; and if any one asks "Who is my neighbour?" he may be referred to Christ's own answer to that question in the touching parable of the Good Samaritan. Nor are we allowed to stop here—the humanization must be completed by a still greater commandment—altogether worthy of heaven from which it came:—"Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But *I* say unto you, *Love your enemies*, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." (Matt. v. 43—45.)

These are grand and broad principles. Let us pause one moment longer to contemplate some of their more special applications. Who are they whom Jesus himself pronounced blessed above all men? The meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers. (Matt. v. 5, 7, 8, 9.) "Be kindly affectioned one to another in brotherly love; in honour preferring one another; not slothful in business; . . . given to hospitality; be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things; but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceit. Recompense no man evil for evil; provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men. . . . If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." (Rom. xii. 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20.) "Be perfect, be of good comfort, live in peace, and *the God of love and peace* shall be with you." (2 Cor. xiii. 11.) "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." (Gal. v. 22, 23.) "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you." (Eph. iv. 31, 32.) "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report;—if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." (Philip. iv. 8.) "Study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly towards them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." (1 Thess. iv. 11, 12.) "Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, *be courteous*, not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing." (1 Pet. iii. 8, 9.)

We have selected these out of a large number of similar precepts which press upon our recollection. In reading them we are perfectly sure that no one can entertain the least doubt that humanization of a high and peculiar order is a necessary and inseparable effect of Christianization:—

> "So, in the guilty breast, when heavenly grace
> Enters, it ceases not till it uproot
> All evil passions from each hidden cell,
> Planting again an Eden in their place,
> Which yields to men and angels pleasant fruit,
> And God himself delighteth there to dwell."

And this is Christian humanization.

In expressing an opinion that Christianity has no direct, immediate, and necessary bearing on Civilization, properly so called, we must take some pains that our meaning should not be misunderstood.

It were equally idle now to affirm as to deny that Civilization is, in itself and for this stage of our existence, a great good and blessing, tending to make this life pleasant and comfortable, and to exalt and beautify the condition of man in this world. Yet it happens that Christianity,

although a religion of supreme benevolence, takes no direct interest in this matter. Any other religion, almost, might take more. Judaism might have taken more—since its sanctions were taken mostly from this world; and blessings of the basket and the store, of the breast and of the womb, long life, comfort, honour in this world, were the more conspicuous rewards of obedience. Under this system there was every inducement to improve the condition in life. Under a system which denied a future life, which teaches that in this life only we have hope, there would be still greater inducement, and encouragement, to emparadize in this world our only state of conscious existence. But Christianity offers no inducement of this sort. It teaches that the state of man in this life is that of a probationer for a higher and better life: and that the period of his probation is but a speck in comparison with the great future which lies before him. It is to that future that it directs man's attention—for that he is to strive, for that to labour. Its constant fear is lest man should forget this—lest he should be disposed to forget his state as a probationer, and make this world—beautiful, however ruined,—and this

" Life, with all its burdens dear,"

his rest. The world it regards as a seducer, tempting the believer to forget his pilgrim state, and to make him careless of that home and " better country " to which he travels. It is therefore but little heedful to make that seduction the more seducing. Yet the operation of this peculiar doctrine has little real effect *as against civilization*. It may have the effect of making missionaries and others, who are the more seriously impressed with those truths, reluctant to exert themselves in diffusing benefits of so secondary a nature; but it does not tell as to any opposition of Christianity, in principle, to Civilization. " The world " against which Christianity warns the citizens of heaven, is not this or that condition of life; but it is that which, in any condition of life, most draws the heart away from God and heaven. Civilization does not do this more than barbarism: for although civilization be in itself the happier condition, happiness itself is, through the bounty of God, very independent of condition; and comparing individuals, we do not find that the most civilized man is more attached to " the world " or more reluctant to leave it than the barbarian. The jackal which devours the offal, and the vulture which revels in the carrion, think their fare as good and wholesome as the lion which draws the life-blood, and enjoys the first-fruits of slaughter.

Having thus represented the only point of view in which Christianity can be regarded un favourable or indifferent to Civilization, it behoves us to indicate other circumstances in which the influence of the Christian faith is decidedly and unquestionably favourable to the improvement of man's intellectual and personal condition in this life. In the first place, Christianity is universal in its character and effects. Its wonderful adaptiveness to all possible conditions and circumstances only now begins to be fully developed, and offers a matter full of instructive meditation to the thinking mind; and, to such a mind, affords a beautiful set of evidences for the divine origin of our religion. As society has advanced, all other religions have been found full of obsolete notions, and impracticable exactions—the result of which has been that the more advanced class of people have always outgrown the religion of their country. But Christianity is always in advance of our advancement. Proceed as far as we can, it is before us; mount as high as we can, it is above us: and, in fact, it would seem that while the system has always made its essential matters intelligible to, and full of comfort and encouragement for, even the lowest conditions of intellectual and social life—it has always contained much matter to be unlocked and developed by progressive circumstances, so that Christianity itself may be said to have been, and to be, *progressive;* and we believe it will be so to the end of time.

Christianity is undoubtedly friendly—more than friendly, to education and literature. The will of God is embodied in a book, with which every one is encouraged and required to make himself acquainted. He who would obtain all the encouragement and knowledge which may be obtained from that book, as translated into his own tongue, must be able to read, and he who can read one book can read any. Then, he who, not content with the necessarily interpretative character of a translation, would seek his knowledge of divine things at the fountain head, must acquire at least one foreign language (Greek), the most expressive in the world; and the acquisition of one language opens the door for many others. It is thus that Christianity,

by the mere mode in which it records the will of God, offers a rich premium upon common education, and one richer still upon high education.

And, besides, Christianity is not only thus favourable to the culture of the intellectual as well as of the moral perceptions; but it is even more directly favourable to the culture of the intellectual faculties by demanding their exercise. Christianity appeals almost as much to the mind as to the heart; its reasonings, always invincible, are often so close, although seldom obscure, as to require great attention, and some grasp of mind, to apprehend their full scope and connexion. Undoubtedly the Bible has done more to advance the intellect of man, in all its true and lawful exercises, than all the other books in the world taken together.

Again, although we are not anxious to prove that the religion of Jesus takes thought immediately for those changes of condition which Civilization produces, there is not the least difficulty in showing that its ultimate effect is highly favourable to improving changes, although it does not demand such changes or make them essential. *Per se*, there is not the least reason why a hunting or pastoral people should not be as good Christians as a highly civilized people. There are vast tracts of country which would not be occupied at all, if not by hunting and pastoral tribes, whose condition of life is therefore as useful, in its place, as any other.

[Bedouin Encampment.]

As a settled inhabitant of Ur, Damascus, Hebron, or Salem, the tent-dwelling Abraham could not better than he did have manifested the qualities which were most acceptable to the Almighty, and which procured him the glorious titles of the "Father of the Faithful," the "Friend of God." This therefore is not a matter in which Christianity will *directly* interfere.

But ultimately and indirectly its *influence* is certain and most effective. Its *direct* effect, as we have abundantly shown, is humanization. But the qualities which constitute the humanized character—making man meek, forgiving, peaceful, patient, courteous, kind, temperate, industrious, honest, and steady—are qualities incompatible with a barbarous condition of life, but are such as cannot fail to better the condition of every man who receives them. This we see daily in individuals, nor have national examples been altogether wanting. Thus therefore, although it may be found that Christianity does not immediately civilize, it puts men in a con-

dition of readiness to take advantage of whatever circumstances favourable to civilization occur in the progress of events.

The incident that nations which seek to diffuse the Christian faith are the most civilized nations in the world, cannot fail to produce a connexion between civilization and Christianity, such as we see in the South Sea islands, and such as we shall, we trust, see in New Zealand. Some will object to the word "incident," being disposed to consider the civilization of these nations as an effect of Christianity. But we have shown that although it does certainly humanize such nations, it has by itself little effect in civilizing them. Not to refer again to the ancient examples, it is clear that printing and gunpowder would have been invented—that the mariner's compass, the New World, the passage by the Cape, the true system of the universe, the circulation of the blood, and the powers and applications of steam, would have been discovered—without Christianity; and these are the things which, in connexion with the humanizing results of Christianity itself, have, under Divine Providence, been the instruments of raising the principal Christian nations to that condition of high civilization in which they now stand.

In the first preaching of the Gospel circumstances were the very reverse of what they are now. Then, the men who were in possession of the treasure of Divine truth, with the commission to make it known in the world, belonged to a nation far less civilized, although (through the institutions of Moses) considerably more humanized, than the principal nations to which it was to be proclaimed. This is probably one reason that there is little if anything said in the New Testament, which can be construed to bear directly on the question of civilization, seeing that the nations to be converted already possessed all the civilization which was then known in the world.

Hence, while the Missionary of our day has the advantage, whatever estimate be formed of its value, of being, through his civilization, the admitted superior of any Heathen whom he may seek to benefit,—the first Missionaries, who had not this means of drawing attention, must have seemed inferior, in these very points, to those whom they laboured to save. We have often thought that it was for *this* reason as much as for any other, that the first preachers of the Gospel were gifted with miraculous powers—which powers ceased as soon as the disparity was removed by the succession of competent native teachers, who had less need of the advantage. Let not, therefore, the modern Missionary mourn the discontinuance of miraculous gifts; seeing that his civilization gives him nearly the same superiority over those to whom he is sent—nearly as strong an introductory claim to attention—as only miracles could give to the primitive Missionaries.

The fact that the civilization of the Missionary tends to the civilization of the converts, needs little proof. We have already shown that Christianity produces a class of habits and sentiments favourable to the operation of civilizing influences. Now, the civilization of the Missionary is a highly civilizing influence upon such as have already submitted to his teaching in higher matters. It will not be possible for them but to desire to have some share in those other advantages which the Missionary so sensibly enjoys—unless the Missionary, by his mode of living, makes the disparity so great as to render imitation, to the natives, a visionary thing. This should not be done. By showing, in his own practice, improved uses of their own products and commodities, and by exhibiting in his own house and person models of the form of life which he thinks best suited for the people, and which are suited to the climate and country, he will do far more than by displaying to their view the probably impracticable and inexpedient usages and utensils of *European* civilization. Civilization is not a form, but a reality capable of receiving *any* form which the climate and products of any particular country may dictate. Missionaries and others, perhaps, fall much into the habit of considering their own form of civilization as of the very substance of civilization itself; and to regard as essential to the *thing*, that which is only essential to the *form* it bears among ourselves. The exigencies of climates and products will, most certainly, produce great variations in the *forms* of civilization, between tropical, temperate, and polar countries, even while the actual civilization is, or may be, equally real in all. Allowances must be made for all these things. It is

essential to even the lowest forms of civilization that men should be clothed, should have the use of money, should not depend on the spontaneous bounties of nature for their food; but it is by no means essential, even to the highest form, that they should wear hats, sit on chairs, eat with forks, or shave their beards.

Again, the Missionary himself, although he may not professedly devote himself to the work of civilization, will, from his generally benevolent state of feeling, and from his desire to be useful in every way, and to render the objects of his care all the benefit in his power, be certain to neglect no opportunity of giving all the information he possesses respecting better utensils and modes of agriculture, building, medicine, and in the various arts. Also, wherever his influence reaches so far, he has never been found backward in endeavouring to procure the rectification of whatever principles or practices act injuriously for the public weal, or unjustly to any class of men.

Nor would we that, by too rigid an interpretation of his duties, he should consider himself precluded from such operations. It is true that the concerns of this world are, to the individual, of small moment as compared to those which affect his eternal position in "the world to come." But matters of this character cannot be fairly contemplated with an exclusive reference to their bearing on individuals. Society is made up of masses of individuals, and its interests are questions of ages, not of years; and persons who might see their course clearly with reference to individual men, may find cause to ponder when they come to contemplate this larger view of the case. Besides, we are all but too apt to make what are very properly the *principal* objects, the *exclusive* objects of our care. But, in fact, God has many works in this world besides his saving work. Such is every effort which has for its object the welfare or peace of man, even in this life; and we do not clearly understand on what grounds any right-minded man can refuse such objects a share of his attention, however strongly he may hold, as we do, that the salvation of souls should be the paramount object of his care; and, in fact, he cannot. Circumstances, too strong for control, will always prevent him, among civilized nations, from resting exclusively upon the obligations of his spiritual office. The difficulty of getting any other persons disposed to act as civilizers; and still more, the difficulty of getting any other civilized men to act in behalf of the uncivilized, whose motives shall be equally, to them, free from all suspicion of gainful designs and territorial encroachments:—these are circumstances which will act with the force of a compulsion; and this compulsion will become irresistible to the missionary among *savage* nations, by the consideration that to civilize is the only way to preserve their existence. We may lament it—we may disclaim it—we may strive against it—but there is nothing rendered more certain by all past experience than the fact, that it is the ultimate destiny of all uncivilized and savage men to disappear before the civilized. Instead of sitting down in sorrow and wringing our hands at the re-acting guilt and misery of men, let us quietly consider that the constant recurrence of the same results under the same or analogous circumstances is indicative of the presence of A LAW in the social history of man; which law it behoves us to investigate and study well. We shall then discover that whenever two antagonist or anomalous conditions of society are brought into contact with each other, it is inevitable that the weaker, more or less gradually, disappear before the stronger. The stronger is the civilized; the weaker "the noble savage," whose individual prowess, whose well-knit frame, whose undaunted heart, might seem his safeguard against extinction. But such is most certainly his doom: nor for its fulfilment are wrong and outrage, battle and slaughter, necessary. The mere contact of the civilized man, is new life or is death to him. From that contact he takes a new form of existence; or, which more usually happens, the well-spring of his life is poisoned by it, and he dies, pines away, withers, without hand. Is not the salvation of the barbarian from this his earthly doom, an object worthy the labour of even a Missionary? It is he who in general first finds his way among such people, long before they came into this terrible contact with civilization: and if, through the divine blessing upon his labours, they are already civilized when that time of fiery trial comes, they will be in a condition to maintain their separate existence as a nation, and as such to grow and multiply: or if even they have then only received the seeds of civilization, these seeds will most probably germinate speedily

under that glowing, and no longer uncongenial, heat, and sprout, and blossom, and yield much fruit. And although a nation thus acted upon, in a prepared state for such action, may not be able, or may not desire, to maintain its distinct existence, we may feel assured that it cannot perish; but, by means of the assimilations it has acquired, will readily blend with, and be absorbed in, the superior mass—becoming a part of its strength and of its being.

The Missionary, if he confine himself to the great work of Evangelization, will bring his people into a state of preparedness for civilization; and what more he does is rather his work as a civilized man than as a Missionary. The operations are separable, and in many cases—perhaps whenever practicable—ought to be separated. But these operations might be concurrent; though it would seem better that the civilizer should work upon the foundation which the Missionary has laid. But, besides and apart from the spiritual and humanizing work of the Missionary, there are duties which the civilized owes to the uncivilized man; and these, as it seems to us, the Missionary is bound to discharge, if there is no one else in the field to relieve him from them. The higher duty does not exonerate him from the lower, unless the two are incompatible, which in this case they do not appear to be. We hear the most of this difficulty from the Missionary Societies, who manifest much reluctance to employ their funds and the time of the Missionaries in purposes of this secondary importance. With laudable conscientiousness, they apprehend that those who give their money for a spiritual purpose, may be dissatisfied at any portion of it being devoted to temporal objects. We believe, however, that most of those who subscribe to Missionary Societies connect in their minds and objects the reception of the Gospel with such temporal ameliorations as can only be produced by civilization: and we may declare that it has never happened to us to meet with any such objections—except from the Societies themselves, when accounting for increased expenditure or calling for increased resources.

Notwithstanding the self-denying protests under which the Societies are wont to act in such matters, we have no doubt that Missionaries will be constrained by circumstances, and by the obligations which they feel as civilized men among the uncivilized, to be what they ever have been, "the best of civilizers." We had almost said "the *only* civilizers," but recollected "The Society for the Civilization of Africa," which has just commenced its operations. This Society, founded and chiefly supported by religious men, invites the assistance of Missionaries, but feels precluded, by denominational differences, from making Evangelization an essential and primary part of its own plan. Such men as compose this Society feel practically, although they do not make the distinction, that the humanizations which they desire to introduce can only be raised in the crude mass of African character by the leaven of Christian principles. Civilization would effect all their more external objects; and if there be any ultimate failure, the blame must be laid not to the deficient power of civilization, but to some lurking error in the particular plan of operations. We hope, very sincerely, that no such error will be found, or that if found it will be rectified, and the whole of a noble enterprise not abandoned for its sake.

In this case the desire to make one effort more—a home effort—for the extinction of the slave-trade, has supplied the motive for action, which, according to the complaint of Mr. Beecham, is generally wanting, apart from Missionary enterprise, to induce efforts for the civilization of man. We shall probably have occasion, in the course of this work, to bring the principles and operation of this institution more distinctly before our readers. We shall watch its movements with much interest—regarding them as part and parcel of that magnificent series of efforts and sacrifices for the suppression of the slave-trade, and for the extinction of slavery, which form collectively the grandest moral act which the history of the world has offered; which will render England—more and more as time advances—the praise of the whole earth, when many of her other glories are forgotten; and which ere long will make it

> "Praise and boast enough,
> In every clime, and travel where we may,
> That we were born her children."

WESTERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEGRO RACE.

[Chimpanzee.]

HAVING devoted this section of our work to an account of the persons, the minds, the habits, the capabilities, and the hopes of a large portion of the negro race, it seems not inexpedient to introduce the subject by some notice of those marked distinctions of form and complexion in that race, which have in all ages engaged the attention of Europeans, and excited much very curious speculation.

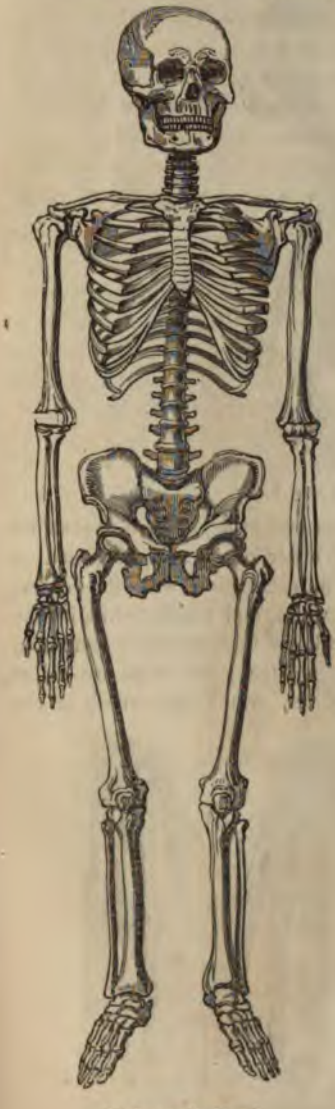
The Scriptures declare that "God hath made of ONE BLOOD all nations of men for to dwell on the face of all the earth." (Acts xvii. 26.) And in conformity with this, the only authentic record of man's origin describes all mankind as the issue of one human pair. Against this doctrine, the argument which has appeared the strongest has been derived from the hue and figure of the African, which have been deemed to distinguish him so strongly from the other races of men as to render it difficult to refer his existence to the same

origin. During the last century, and in the early part of this, much was written, *pro* and *con*, on this curious and really interesting question. Men not friendly to revelation made much use of it in attempting to disprove the truth of the Scriptures; and many sincere believers in that truth, were so staggered by the apparent difficulties, as to desire to find the narrative in Genesis an allegory, or to discover in it a meaning not adverse to the distinct origin of the negro race.

It is not among the least striking manifestations of the advance which has of late years been made in all profitable knowledge, that even men not over friendly to the Scriptures, or anxious to bring their theories into conformity with its teaching, have, by the evidence of facts, been rendered the most active and able teachers of the doctrine which gives one origin to the black man and to the white, and have supplied the humble believer with his strongest arguments for the literal interpretation of that which his BOOK teaches to him. Yes, the soundest inquirers, both in this country and in Germany, where the subject has engaged much attention, discover now that they can not only dispense with the sixteen Adams which one gifted Frenchman (M. Desmoulins), and with the fifteen which another (M. Bory de St. Vincent), but even with the two which a third (M. Virey) requires, for as many races of men, which *they* deem it physically impossible to refer to the same origin. The last named of these eminent men, as will be conjectured, would be content with only one Adam more—a black one—for the Africans. Some older writers on the subject would have been content to preserve the unity of the human race, by denying the claim of the negro to a place in it, and regarding him merely as the variety of the best monkey—the orang-utan. Ay, and there were some who scrupled [illegible]

[Orang-Utan.]

to ascribe to the proud white man himself no higher origin—taking even *his* Adam from him. Now it need not be denied that there are several particulars in which the facial outline of the negro countenance departs from the highest European standard, and in the same degree approximates to the orang-utan, or, rather, to the chimpanzee, which is now admitted to make a nearer approximation to man than the other. But a more intimate acquaintance with the anatomy of these animals, and of the different varieties of the human species, points out such essential differences, that the most sceptical physiologist now laughs to scorn the once popular infidel notion that man, or at least the black man, was but an improved variety of the ape. No less than twenty-one very important distinctions between man and both the chimpanzee and orang have been pointed out by Professor Owen and others, most of which are held to suffice to constitute a difference not merely of species but of genus. They are "differences which result from original formation, and are not liable to be weakened in any material degree, either, on the one hand, by a degradation of the human species, or, on the other, by the highest cultivation of which the anthropoïd apes are susceptible." Among the most important and



[Skeleton of a Man.]

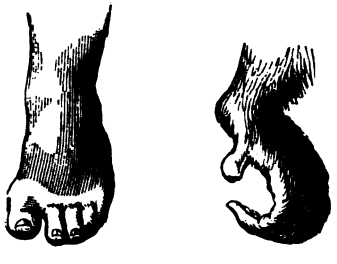
[Skeleton of an Orang.]

[Skeleton of a Chimpanzee.]

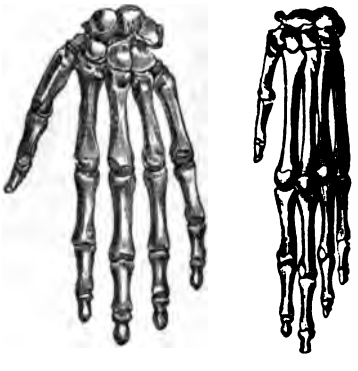
remarkable of these distinctions may be numbered the facts—1. That the orangs and chimpanzees are not, as the negroes themselves believe, wild men who will not speak for fear they should be set to work; but that they are absolutely *incapable*, beyond most quadrupeds, of giving vent to even inarticulate sounds, much more of that variety in indefinite combinations

[Orang-Utan. Skeleton of Adult and Young, side view.]

of articulate sounds which forms the most prominent distinction and pride of man *beyond* all living creatures. This peculiar defect in even the highest order of apes is supposed to arise from the existence of a peculiar membraneous pouch in connection with the larynx, or organ of voice, which exists in no man whatever, black or white, and which (while it may possibly increase the *volume* of the voice) necessitates the peculiarly incapacitating formation of the organ of voice itself. 2. Then, the apes *have no proper feet;* for what are called such are as distinctly *hands* as are the terminal organs of the arms: that which is the



[Foot of Man and Orang-Utan]



[Bones of the Human Hand, and Paw of Chimpanzee.]

great toe in the foot of man, by which chiefly he is enabled to walk in an erect position, being a perfect thumb in the ape. Whence the animal is naturally formed for climbing, and for living in trees; and its natural position in walking on the ground, and the position which it always assumes when not under human discipline or example, is that of all-fours, the body being supported on *four hands* instead of on *four feet*, as in quadrupeds. Hence Cuvier and other recent zoologists have invented a new name by which animals of this class may be properly distinguished from all others. This is *quadrumana*, or *four-handed*, by which they are equally distinguished, on the one hand from quadrupeds, or four-footed animals, and, on the other, from man, who, in all his tribes, is uniformly and alone *bimanual*, or two-handed. In man, the hand is an organ so exquisitely finished, so perfect an instrument of his will, so admirably adapted for working out his most ingenious devices, that some physiologists would regard this as alone sufficient to account for his superiority to all living creatures. Therefore, in giving to the ape four hands, whereas man has but two, we seem to lay ourselves open to such objections as that of Colonel Bory de St. Vincent, who, in his zeal to take down that arrogance which indisposes the *recognised* races of men to admit the brotherhood of the monkey and the ape, asks, "Are not four hands, in fact, of more value than two, as elements of perfectibility?" The answer to this is found in the fact that, however the "hands" of the ape may be important to him as instruments of progression in his native forests, not one of them, or all of them together, are, or can by any means become, in any degree comparable to the hand of man as an instrument of general action. The most important member of the hand, the thumb, however well suited in the ape to assist him in climbing, swinging, and clinging, is for general uses but a poor and beggarly apology for the thumb of man. In fact, the hand of the ape is a hand formed for such a limited number of objects as the constitution and habits of the ape require, and although, *so far*, a perfect hand, is by no means capable of those universal applications, which, in connection with a similar universality in his other functions and endowments, renders man the undoubted lord of this lower universe.

Although ashamed to dwell on this matter, we cannot abstain from also pointing out that the perfect use which man has of his two hands—without being obliged in any way to employ them to assist his stationary position or his movements from place to place—would alone create a wide and important distinction, seeing that the ape is obliged to employ his fore extremities equally with his hind ones as instruments of progression, in his native trees; and while he walks the ground, he has no alternative but to do so on all fours, or, in attempting to walk erect, to employ his long fore members to stay his tottering steps, just as a lame man employs his crutches.

Since, therefore, we recognize in the poor African the image of God, "carved in ebony" though it be; since we know with perfect assurance that although

> "Skins may differ, yet affections
> Dwell in whites and blacks the same;"

and since, therefore, we are constrained to answer with a fraternal embrace to the touching cry, "Am I not a man and a brother?" it remains to inquire, whence, then, proceed those great diversities among mankind, and especially, whence the sable hue of the negro, and, in many of his tribes, his woolly hair, his retreating forehead, his flattened nose, and his thick lips?

These questions have been so often and so ably answered, that no one who is not a practical anatomist can hope to throw any new lights on their physical applications. The greatest and most received authority is Professor Blumenbach; and his views seem so satisfactory, that they are generally adopted, and are substantially those which we shall lay before the reader in some of the immediately succeeding pages. Dr. John Mason Good, "whose praise is in all the churches," has repeated these views, and fortified them by new considerations, in his "Book of Nature;" and we shall avail ourselves of his report, without neglecting such other information as more recent inquiries have produced.

The answer, then, will be, that the varieties in man, of which so much has been said, are the

effect of a combination of causes, some of which are obvious, others of which must be conjectured, and a few of which are beyond the reach of our present comprehension; but all of which are common to other animals as well as to man: for extraordinary as these diversities may appear, they are equally to be met with in the varieties of several other kinds of animals that can be proved to have been produced by a single species, and, in one or two instances, from a single pair.

The chief causes we are acquainted with are the four following:—climate, food, manner of life, and hereditary diseases. A few observations on each of these will tend to refute the objections which have been, first and last, urged to the single Adam of the Mosaical history. The influence which CLIMATE principally produces on the animal frame is, on the colour of the skin, and on the extent of the stature. All the deepest colours we are acquainted with are those of hot climates, and all the lightest those of cold ones. In our own country we perceive daily that an exposure to the rays of the sun turns the skin from its natural whiteness to a deep brown or tan, and that a seclusion from the sun keeps it fair and unfreckled. In like manner the tree-frog (*rana arborea*), while living in the shade, is of a light yellow, but of dark green when he is obliged to shift from the shade into the sunshine. So the *nereis lacustris*, though whitish under the darkness of a projecting bank, is red when exposed to the sun's rays. And that the larvæ of most insects that burrow in the cavities of the earth, of plants, or of animals, are white, from the same cause, is clear, since, being confined under glasses that admit the influence of the solar light, they exchange their whiteness for a brownish hue.

The same remark will apply to plants as well as to animals; and hence nothing more is necessary to bleach or whiten them than to exclude them from the light of the day. An example of this may be found in our commonest gardens, where a stock which grew red in the sun, throws out white blossoms after being transplanted to a shady border. Hence the birds, beasts, flowers, and even fishes, of the equatorial regions, are uniformly brighter or deeper tinctured in their spots, their feathers, their petals, and their scales, than we find them in any other part of the world. And hence one reason at least for the deep jet which, for the most part, prevails among mankind under the equator; the dark brown and copper colours found under the tropics; and the olive, shifting through every intermediate shade to the fair and sanguine complexion, as we proceed from the tropic of Cancer northwards. Hence, too, the reason why the Asiatic and North African women, confined to the walls of their seraglios, are as white as Europeans; why Moorish children of both sexes are, at first, equally fair; and why the fairness continues among the girls, but is soon lost among the boys.

As we approach the poles, on the contrary, we find everything progressively whiten; bears, foxes, hares, falcons, crows, and blackbirds, all assume the same common livery; while many of them change the colour with the change of the season itself. For the same reason, as also because they have a thinner mucous web, the Abyssinians are less deep in colour than the negro race; for though their geographical climate is nearly the same, their physical climate differs essentially: the country stands much higher, and its temperature is far lower.

The intermediate matter of colour is the mucous pigment which forms the middle layer of the general integument of the skin; and upon this the sun, in hot climates, appears to act in a twofold manner; first, by the direct affinity of its calorific rays with the oxygen of the animal surface, in consequence of which the oxygen is detached and flies off, and the carbon and hydrogen, being set at liberty, form a more or less perfect charcoal, according to the nature of their union; and next, by the indirect influence which its colorific rays, like many other stimulants, produce upon the liver, by exciting it to a secretion of more abundant bile, and of a deeper hue. This second or colouring layer of the general integument of the skin differs (as indeed all the layers of the skin do) in its thickness, not only in different kinds of animals, but very frequently in different species, varieties, and even individuals. Thus in our own country we find it more abundant in some persons than in others; and wherever it is most abundant, we find the complexion also of a darker, and coarser, and greasier appearance, upon a common exposure to the solar light and heat: and we find also that the hair is almost uniformly influenced by such increase of colour, and is proportionably coarser and darker.

It is of some consequence to attend to this observation, for it may serve to explain a physiological fact that has hitherto been supposed of difficult elucidation.

A certain degree of heat, though less than that of the tropics, appears favourable to the increase of stature; and the tallest tribes with which we are acquainted are situated at the back of Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope. On the contrary, the most diminutive we know are those that inhabit the coldest regions or the highest mountains in the world: such are the Laplanders and Nova Zemblians in Europe, the Samoieds, Ostiacs, and Tungooses, in Asia, and the Greenlanders and Esquimaux in America.

A multitude of distinct tribes have of late years been discovered in the interior of Africa, in the midst of the black tribes, exhibiting nothing more than a red or copper hue, with lank black hair. And this is probably owing to the difference of actual climate, for it is now known that the interior of Africa rises in successive terraces, so that the central parts are much higher and cooler than the coasts. And, in like manner, around the banks of the Orinoco, in Mexico, where the climate is much hotter, there are many clans of a much lighter hue than those around the banks of the Rio Negro, where it is much cooler; and Humboldt has hence ventured to assert that we have here a full proof that climate produces no effect upon the colour of the skin. Such an assertion is far too hasty, for he should first have shown that the thickness of the mucous web, or colouring material, is equally abundant in all these instances. For if it be more abundant (as it probably is) in the tribes that are swarthiest, we have reason to expect that a swarthy colour will be found where there is an equal or even a less exposure to solar light and heat.

The effects of DIFFERENT KINDS OF FOOD upon the animal system are as extensive and as wonderful as those of different climates. The fineness or coarseness of the wool or hair, the firmness and flavour of the flesh, and, in some degree, the colour of the skin, and the extent of the stature, are all influenced by the nature of the diet. Oils and spirits produce a peculiar excitement of the liver; and, like the calorific rays of the sun, usually become the means of throwing an overcharge of bile into the circulation. Hence the sallow and olive hue of many who unduly addict themselves to vinous potation, and who at the same time make use of but little exercise. And hence, also, the dark and dingy colour of the pigmy people inhabiting high northern latitudes, to whom we have just adverted, and whose usual diet consists of fish and other oils, often rancid and offensive: though it must be admitted that this colour is in most instances aided by the clouds of smoke in which they sit constantly involved in their wretched cabins, and the filth and grease with which they often besmear their skins. And hence, also, one cause of their diminutive stature; the food they feed on being unassimilating and innutritive. Swine and all other animals fed on madder-root, or that of *gallium verum*, or yellow-ladies-bed-straw, have the bones themselves tinged of a deep red or a yellow; and M. Huber, of Lausanne, who has made so many valuable discoveries in the natural habits of the honey-bee, has proved himself able, by a difference in the food alone, as indeed Debraw had done long before him, to convert what is commonly but improperly called a neuter into a queen bee.

It would be superfluous to dwell on the changes of body and perceptive powers produced in the animal system by a DIFFERENCE IN THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. We have the most striking proofs of this effect in all the domestic animals by which we are surrounded. Compare the wild horse with the disciplined; the bison with the ox, which last is usually regarded as the bison in a state of tameness; and the Siberian argali with the sheep, which is said to have sprung from it. Compare the modern Romans with the ancient; the low cunning and servile temper of too many of the Greek tribes of the present day, with the noble courage and patriotic enthusiasm of their forefathers.

It is in reality from long and deeply-rooted habit alone that the black, red, and olive colour of the Ethiopian, American, and Mogul, is continued in the future lineage for so many generations after their removal into other parts of the world; and that nothing will, in general, restore the skin to its original fairness but a long succession of intermixtures with the European variety. It is a singular circumstance, that the black colour appears to form a less permanent

habit than the red or olive; or, in other words, the colour chiefly produced by the action of the sun's colorific rays, than that produced by the action of its calorific rays: for the children of olive and copper-coloured parents exhibit the parental hue from the moment of birth; but in those of black, it is usually six, eight, or ten months before the black pigment is fully secreted. We also sometimes find this not secreted at all, whence the anomaly of white negroes; and sometimes only in interrupted lines or patches, whence the anomaly of spotted negroes; and we have even a few rare cases of negroes in America, who, in consequence of very severe illness, have had the whole of the black pigment absorbed and carried off, and a white pigment diffused in its stead. In other words, we have instances of a black man being suddenly bleached into a white man. Such instances are indeed of rare occurrence: but they help to show the absurdity of the argument for a plurality of human stocks or species, from a mere difference in the colour of the skin.

But it is probable that a very great part of the more striking distinctions we have noticed, and almost all the subordinate variations occasionally to be met with, are the result of a MORBID AND HEREDITARY AFFECTION. The vast influence which this recondite but active cause possesses over both the body and the mind, is known in some degree to every one, from facts that are daily presenting themselves to us. We see gout, consumption, scrofula, leprosy, propagated on various occasions; and madness and fatuity, and hypochondriacal affections as frequently. Hence the unhappy race of Albinoes, and whole pedigrees of white negroes; hence the pigmy stature of some families and the gigantic size of others.

Even when accident, or a cause we cannot discover, has produced a preternatural conformation or defect in a particular organ, it is astonishing to behold how tenaciously it adheres to the future lineage. A preternatural defect or redundancy in the hand or foot has been propagated for many generations, and has in numerous instances laid a foundation for the family name. The names of Varus and Plautus, among the ancient Romans, afford familiar exemplifications. Another familiar example is found in the thick upper lip by which the reigning family in Austria has for centuries been distinguished: and, as Washington Irving pleasantly remarks, the same nose may be seen repeated through a whole long gallery of family portraits. Hence hornless sheep and hornless oxen produce an equally hornless offspring. The broad-tailed Asiatic sheep yields a progeny with a tail equally monstrous, and often of not less than half a hundred pounds weight; and dogs and cats, with mutilated tails or ears, not unfrequently propagate the casual deficiency.

The most satisfactory and conclusive illustration of the fact that an accidental variation may be so perpetuated and extended as to form a distinct variety in the species, is afforded in the history of a very peculiar variety of sheep in America, as given by Colonel Humphreys in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1813.

In the year 1791 one of the ewes in the farm of Seth Wright, in the state of Massachusetts, produced a male lamb, which, from the singular length of its body and the shortness of its legs, received the name of the *otter-breed* from the people, while from the curvature of the fore-legs, which appeared like elbows when the animal was walking, a more learned personage was induced to give it the name of *Ancon* (from Ἀγκων, an elbow). This singular conformation being found to render the animal incapable of leaping fences and indisposed to ramble, appeared to the farmers so desirable, that they wished, if possible, to perpetuate it. Wright, accordingly, determined on breeding from this ram. In the first year he obtained only two with the same peculiarities; in the following years he obtained greater numbers; and when they became capable of breeding with one another, *a new and strongly-marked variety, before unknown in the world, was established.*

In like manner, in all probability, from some primary accident, sprung the peculiar shape of the head and face in the African, Mongolian, and other nations. The pleasant conceit that such peculiarities of skull and feature arose from pressures and pinchings applied in infancy, is as poor a resource as that which makes a plurality of Adams necessary. It reminds one of the way in which the African ladies account for the (to them) unsightly peculiarities of the European features and complexion:—"They rallied me with a good deal of gaiety," says

Park, "on different subjects, particularly upon the whiteness of my skin and the prominency of my nose; they insisted that both were artificial. The first, they said, was produced when I was an infant, by dipping me in milk; and they insisted that my nose had been pinched every day, until it acquired its present unsightly and unnatural conformation."

To the same cause, the perpetuation of what was in its origin an incidental redundance, may be attributed such peculiarities as those enormous prominences on the hinder parts of one or two of the nations at the back of the Cape of Good Hope, of which an instance was formerly exhibited in this country with some degree of outrage on moral feeling.

Man, then, is not the only animal in which such variations of form and feature occur; nor the animal in which they occur most frequently, or in the most extraordinary and extravagant manner.

M. Blumenbach, who has pursued this interesting subject with a liveliness the most entertaining, and a chain of argument the most convincing, has selected the swine genus from many other quadrupeds that would have answered as well, especially the dog and sheep, in order to institute a comparison of this very kind; and he has completely succeeded in showing that the swine, even in countries where we have historical and undeniable proofs, as especially in America, of its being derived from one common and imported stock, exhibits, in its different varieties, distinctions not only as numerous and astonishing, but, as far as relates to the exterior frame, of the very same kind as are to be met with in the different varieties of the human species.

In regard to size, the Cuba swine, well known, as he observes, to have been imported into that island from Europe, are at the present day double the height and magnitude of the stock from which they were bred. Whence we may well laugh at every argument in favour of more than one human stock or species, drawn from the difference of stature in different nations of man. In regard to colour they display at least as great a diversity. In Piedmont the swine are black; in Bavaria, reddish-brown; in Normandy, white. Human hair, observes M. Blumenbach, is somewhat different from swine bristles; yet in the present point of view they may be compared with each other. Fair hair is soft and of a silky texture; black hair is coarser, and often woolly. In like manner, among the white swine in Normandy, the bristles on the body are longer and softer than among other swine; and even those on the back, which are usually stouter than the rest, are flaccid, and cannot be employed by the brush-makers.

The whole difference between the skull of a negro and that of a European is in no respect

[Well-developed Human Skull.]

[Skull of Negro.]

greater than that which exists between the skull of a wild boar and that of the domestic swine. Those who examine the present figures of the two must be sensible of this the first moment they compare them together. The peculiarity among the Hindoos, of having the bone of the leg remarkably long, meets a precise parallel in the swine of Normandy, which

stand so high on their hind-quarters, that the back forms an inclined plane to the head; and as the head itself partakes of the same direction, the snout is but a little removed from the ground.

[Head of Human Idiot.]

[Head of Orang-Utan.]

[Skull of Chimpanzee.]

In some countries, indeed, the swine have degenerated into races that in singularity far exceed the most extravagant variations that have been found among the human species. What can differ more widely than a cloven foot and a solid hoof? yet swine are found with both: the variety of the solid hoof was known to the ancients, and still exists in Hungary and Sweden; and even the common sort that were carried by the Spaniards to the Isle of Cuba in 1509 have since degenerated into a variety with the hoof of the same solid kind, and of the enormous size of not less than half-a-span in diameter.

How absurd, then, to contend that the distinctions in the different varieties of the human race must have proceeded from a plurality of species, while we are compelled to admit that distinctions of a similar kind, but more numerous and more extravagant, have proceeded from a single species in other animals!

It would not be pardonable to conclude this notice without a reference to the very ingenious explanation which has lately been given of the kind of incident in which the more marked peculiarities of the negro race (for the colour and woolly hair are *not* the most marked) may have originated.

It is remarked by M. Serres that the brain (and we would add the countenance) of the

European and Western Asiatic race, in the progress to full development, represents *transitorily* the forms which in the Negro and in the Mongolian are *permanent*. Now, it is known, that one of the circumstances productive of monstrosities is the arrest of development, or, in other words, the cessation of growth in some particular organ or member, while the rest advance towards their usual standard; and, says Dr. Lord, "let us suppose that when the brain was in either of these phases, arrest of development had taken place, a man would have been born with either the negro or Mongolian cerebral formation." This is certainly possible; and an individual being thus produced, the facts already stated will show the probability that these peculiarities would be continued in the progeny of that individual.

Were, then, a family in which any peculiarity had a tendency to occur, isolated from the general stock, so as to necessitate frequent intermarriages among its own members, their peculiarities would be repeated, propagated, and, in a few generations, rendered permanent. But such an isolation could only have occurred in the earliest ages of human history, when the world was but thinly inhabited, and a wide space intervened between family and family. Any peculiarity which occurs in our days soon merges, by intermixture, and returns to the common standard.

It may appear singular, perhaps, that no notice has been taken of the wide difference which is supposed to exist in the intellectual faculties of the different varieties of men. This has purposely been omitted, because of all the arguments that have ever been offered to support the doctrine of a difference of species, this seems the feeblest and the most superficial. "It may suit the narrow purpose of a slave-merchant," exclaims Dr. J. M. Good, indignantly—"of a trafficker in human nerves and muscles, of a wretch who, in equal defiance of the feelings and laws of the day, has the impudence to offer for sale, on the polluted shores of our own country, in one and the same lot, as was the case some years back, a dead cameleopard and a living Hottentot woman—it may suit their purpose to introduce such a distinction into their creed, and to let it constitute the whole of their creed, but it is distinction too trifling and evanescent to claim the notice of a physiologist for a moment.

"The variable talents of the mind are as propagable as the variable features of the body,—how or by what means we know not, but the fact is incontrovertible. Wit and dulness, genius and idiotism, run in direct streams from generation to generation; and hence the moral character of families, of tribes, of whole nations. The understanding of the negro race, it is admitted, is in many tribes strikingly and habitually obtuse. It has thus, indeed, been propagated for a long succession of ages; and till the negro mind receives a new turn,—till it becomes cultivated and called forth into action by some such benevolent stimulus as that which our Missionary and other Societies are now anxious to supply,—the same obtuseness must necessarily continue, and, by a prolongation of the habit, may, perhaps, even increase. But let the man who would argue from this single fact, that the race of negroes must be necessarily an inferior species,—distinct from all the rest of the world,—compare the taste, the talents, the genius, the erudition, that have at different periods blazed forth in different individuals of this despised people, when placed under the fostering providence of kindness and cultivation, with his own, or those of his own countrymen, and let him blush for the mistake he has made, and the injury he has committed."

The late Dr. Lord, with an obvious allusion to that supposed original arrest of development in the parent of the negro race, of which we have already spoken, says, "The negroes are in fact but 'children of a larger growth;' we perceive in them the same volatility, the same restlessness, the same impatience of restraint, the same attention to objects that strike the senses, the same fickleness of will, the same want of determination, aim, or purpose. The reflecting powers seem dormant or but little exercised, the moral sense is weak and obscure, the animal propensities alone seem to have reached their maturity—and under their unchained influence the negro is capable of the warmest attachments, the bitterest enmities, and the most horrible revenge. A nation of civilized negroes is a phenomenon unknown; in vain will you search among them for elevated flights of imagination, profound investigations of the laws of nature, or just views of human responsibility; no woolly-headed race has ever produced

even a great conqueror—perhaps the least honourable path that leads to human distinction. Blumenbach has taken pains to collect some examples of natural talent among negroes, and instances some who have succeeded as painters, poets, musicians, and divines. These are, however, only individual cases : the general character accords with that we have sketched, and may be applied, with few exceptions, to all the African nations south of the Atlas mountains."

There is much truth in this, if we restrict its application to the past times in which the African has been exposed to the most brutalizing, and not civilizing, influences from without ; but we are not willing to receive it as conveying the permanent character of his destinies and hopes. We see nothing in the African to render his case more hopeless than was that of the ancient savages of Europe, who have since become the masters of the world ; or, to give nearer instances, those of the red men of America, or the savages of the South-Sea Isles. We see in him the defects of plan and character incident to the savage *wherever he exists*, but are unable to perceive any peculiarities which render him inferior to other savages, or less capable than they of improvement, of civilization, and of high enterprises.

There is one peculiarity existing, not inthe man, but in the country which he inhabits. Its climate is one of the few in which Europeans cannot enjoy life, and can barely live with difficulty. The African is therefore secured for ever in the inheritance of his own soil, and it can never be his doom, like the American Indians, to disappear before the encroachments of civilized men. But for this, the rich and fertile countries on the western shores of Africa would, in all human probability, long before now, have been in the entire occupation of an ample population descended from European colonizers of a former age, and the black man would have been driven far into the interior, or have been permitted to remain only as the slave of the white man on his native soil.

But this very circumstance, to which the African owes his safety, by securing the permanency of his existence in his own land, is that which also forms the most serious, and, as far as we see, the only *real* obstacle to his progressive and ultimately complete civilization; as his intercourse with the civilizers of the world is restricted and embarrassed by their inability to live in his country, and by his to sojourn with comfort and safety in theirs. Is it not this, together with the slave trade, which has in all past time prevented the civilization of tropical Africa? Certainly a great and peculiar barrier is thus formed which exists with reference to no other country, and it is much fairer to the African to believe that it is this peculiar barrier, shutting out the influences which might have redeemed him from his savage condition, rather than any peculiar defects arising from his form, or colour, or character, which leaves him still uncivilized. Shall this barrier never be broken down? Is the African

> —— —— "Sworn a dunghill slave for ever?
> . . . . . Shall his indentures never
> Be cancell'd? Doth injurious nature bind
> His soul earth's 'prentice, with no clause to leave her
> A day of freedom?"
>
> QUARLES.

These and such as these are questions which the ensuing pages may in some degree help to answer.

There are some facts respecting the man of Western Africa which the course of the argument in the preceding pages did not require to be produced, but which may find a suitable place here at the end of the chapter.

The natives are in general described by travellers as well formed in their limbs, and remarkably free from natural deformities. Their skin is always cool, at least more so than those of Europeans in the same climate, and is likewise remarkable for its sleekness and velvet-like softness.

It is difficult to know which of the numerous nations on this coast is, personally, the finest. Writers are apt to be partial, or to give the preference to the people with whom they are most familiar, or among whom they have lived the longest. Thus Adanson gives the palm to the negroes of Senegal, who are generally above the middle size, and free from every species of deformity,

except such as arise from accidents. The women are equally handsome, and to those who have become reconciled to their colour, many of them appear almost perfect beauties. But Dr. Winterbottom is equally decided in favour of the inhabitants of the river of Sierra Leone, as the handsomest upon the coast. Both men and women are in general above the middle size, well proportioned, sprightly, and of an open countenance. Although the palm of elegance may be denied to them, yet they possess a great degree of ease in all their actions. The young women, in general, are remarkable for the fine contour of their limbs, and for an ingenuous open countenance. Their eyes are often large and well formed; their ears small and neat.

The estimation of female beauty in this country is the same as in most others, that is to say, the African woman, whom the native regards as beautiful, is generally the same whom the European admits to be such. It is remarkable that they have no other way in their own language of describing an object to be beautiful but by saying that it is good: thus a beautiful woman is *no lak'an kelleng*, "a good woman;" and a pretty child, *no pom'mo kelleng*, "a good child."

Many of our misconceptions concerning Africans arise from our applying the general name of *black* to them all. But, even within the comparatively narrow limits of our inquiries, the variety of complexions is nearly as great as in the different nations of Europe: the difference being scarcely greater between the "white" of our north and the "brown" of our south, than between the tawny of some African tribes and the pitch black of others. In fact the progress from white to jet black is by regular gradations of colour, every shade of which may be traced, and being traced would lessen much of the surprise with which the contrast between very white and very black is regarded.

In Europe a strong difference of complexion may often be remarked in children of the same family, and even this is not without its parallel in Africa, where, independently of any admixture of white blood, some children are of a jet black, while others are only of a dark brown.

It is well worthy of remark that, as we are assured by Dr. Winterbottom and others, the negro children are nearly as fair as Europeans at birth, and do not acquire their colour until several days have elapsed. The eyes of new-born negro children are also of a light colour, and preserve somewhat of a bluish tinge for several days after birth. The palms of the hands and soles of the feet always remain nearly as white as in Europeans,—a circumstance to which sufficient attention has not been paid by painters.

As great a variety of features occurs among the negroes as is to be found among the nations of Europe. The sloping contracted forehead, small eyes, depressed nose, thick lips, and projecting jaw, with which the negro is usually represented, being by no means constant traits: on the contrary, almost every gradation of countenance may be met with, from the unpleasant picture too commonly drawn of them to the finest set of European features. Want of animation does not characterize them, and faces are often met with which express the emotions of the mind with great energy.

The peculiarity in the hair of the negroes has attracted much attention, but, from the analogous changes in the hair and wool of animals, it offers fewer difficulties than some of the other distinctions of the race. The hair (or rather wool) of the negroes is not merely curled, as we often see it in Europeans, but such hair is also of a finer texture. This feature of the race is less modified by extraneous circumstances than either complexion or feature: yet there are differences and variations. When the negro head has been much exposed during the dry season to the hot sun, the ends of the hair frequently acquire a reddish or burnt appearance; and sometimes this is the natural colour of the hair independent of exposure to the sun—but then there is an analogous difference in the colour of the skin. Among other examples Winterbottom mentions a family at Free-town, the children of which had red or copper-coloured skins, with woolly hair of a red or singed colour.

The hair of the negroes turns white much earlier than that of Europeans; but baldness is very rare, even among old people.

Their hair is less uniformly short than we are apt to imagine. There is, in fact, much

variation in its length. Some of the Africans, especially among the women, by much care have it six or eight inches long. They seem to have got a passion for long hair in the times when their European visitors wore theirs long and collected into *tails*, and the imitative African was for a time at great pains to cherish his hair for the purpose of imitating this practice. Adanson relates, that on his coming to a village high up the river Senegal, where no white man had previously been seen, at his first appearance the place echoed with the screams of the children, who ran to hide themselves behind their mothers. When the inhabitants gained sufficient confidence to examine his person, the bag in which his hair was tied up being supposed a repository for tobacco, excited the most earnest importunity for a portion of the precious leaf; and he found no relief but in untying it, when no small astonishment and consternation was produced by the view of its real contents.

The eyebrows differ from the hair of the head in not being curled and woolly, and they are seldom so long or bushy as in Europe. But the eyelashes are remarkably long, dense, and finely curved.

The opening formed by the eyelids is smaller in the negro than in the European, and therefore less of the globe of the eye is visible in the former. The "white" of the eye is also less resplendently white in the African than in the European, but rather of a yellowish brown. But these rules have large exceptions; for, except that the colour is always dark, there is much variety in the eyes of Africans, and they are often seen large, well-formed, and brilliant, especially among the women.

The lips of the Africans are generally dark coloured, differing but little from the colour of the face. Sometimes a tinge of red may be seen in them, and in a few instances they may be seen nearly as red as the lips of Europeans.

We incline to conclude this chapter in the words of Purchas, who devotes a chapter to a similar inquiry, and who, perceiving that the subject was not only difficult in itself, but made more so by the great diversity of interpretations, is disposed to rest in the conclusion that this is one of the "secret things [which] belong unto the Lord our God," and not one of "the revealed things [which] belong unto us and to our children." "His incomprehensible Unity," writes the old scholar, "hath pleased in this variety [of complexion] to diversify his works, all serving one human nature, infinitely multiplied in persons, exceedingly varied in accidents, that we also might serve that *One-most* GOD: that the tawny Moor, black Negro, dusky Libyan, ash-coloured Indian, olive-coloured American, should, with the whiter European, become one *sheepfold*, under one *Great Shepherd*, until *this mortality being swallowed up in life*, we may all be *one, as He and the Father are one;* and (all this variety swallowed up into an ineffable unity) only the language of Canaan shall be heard, only *the Father's name written in their foreheads, the Lamb's song in their mouths, the victorious palms in their hands, their long robes being made white in the blood of the Lamb, whom they follow whithersoever he goeth*, filling heaven and earth with their *everlasting Hallelujahs*, without any more distinction of colour, nation, language, sex, condition—all may be *One* in Him that is ONE *and only blessed for ever.* AMEN."

CHAPTER II.

THE FOULAHS.

[Foulah Hut.]

In the present section it will be our endeavour to make the reader acquainted with the nations which inhabit that portion of Africa which extends from the River Senegal to Cape Palmas. All this country lies to the north of the equator, being from 4° 35′ to 16° 40′ of northern latitude, and reaching, in a direct sloping line from N.N.W. to S.S.E., about one thousand miles.

This large country is occupied by a great number of different small states or kingdoms. So numerous are they, that above twenty are said to inhabit the banks of the Gambia alone. To include them all in our survey will not, of course, be in our power. Indeed, of the greater part of them we know only the names, of many we know little more than the names, and of a large portion the very names are unknown.

This state of the matter renders necessary a very different method to that which we shall follow when we have only to write of one nation or one people. Nor is this to be regretted, as the differing treatment which circumstances may exact, will give to a work, designed to be complete in the whole, a pleasant variety in the parts, of which few readers will complain. It is clearly impossible to speak of all these nations; nor, were it possible, would it be expedient. Among so many states there must be many the inhabitants of which differ but little from their neighbours—not more than the people of one part of our own island differ from another; and it would therefore, under all circumstances, be clearly our best course to take a few of the principal nations, or nations with which we are best acquainted, and regard them as types or representatives of the other nations in their neighbourhood. And this is true in fact; for persons accustomed to generalize can easily detect, even in the slighter notices by travellers and missionaries, circumstances which enable them to identify various of the native tribes, which bear different names, as but different members of the same families.

We shall take the nations as nearly as possible in their geographical order, commencing in the north and proceeding southward.

Except on the immediate banks of the Senegal, the country to the *north* of that river is more or less a desert, according as it forms part of, or only borders on, the great central desert of

Sahara—such parts of this country as are habitable being chiefly along the coast and the north bank of the river, and occupied by Moors, and by some fragments of Arabian tribes. We have no present concern with these people; but it is necessary to notice their proximity, on account of the very various, but always important, influence which their presence has exercised upon those nations on the Senegal which will first engage our attention.

Of these nations we will pay our first visit to the FOULAHS; for although, from their situation, the Jaloofs might be equally entitled to the first attention, it is of some importance to get acquainted, in the first instance, with a people whose less stationary habits will frequently bring them under our notice in other countries than those in which they rule.

The Foulahs are, in fact, found in most parts of the country watered by the rivers Senegal and Gambia (Senegambia). Besides the kingdoms which they possess, or of which they are the chief occupants, they have introduced themselves into nearly all the countries of the Windward Coast (which nearly corresponds to the extent of our survey), paying tribute to the sovereigns of such country for the lands they hold in it. Park gave to the Foulahs the second place among the natives of Western Africa, after the Mandingoes; but now that the extent covered by their various states and dominions is better understood, the first place may, in every respect, very safely be given to them.

The proper Foulahs are not of the negro race, nor the original inhabitants of the countries which they occupy. Their features are European, or, as the physiologists would say, Caucasian. Their hair is straight and silky, and their skin of a tawny hue, inclining to copper. These proper Foulahs are, however, less numerous than the black Foulahs, who have sprung from the intermarriages of this tawny race with the negroes. It is important to attend to this distinction, as some confusion is created in the mind of the reader of African travels by finding the Foulahs mentioned sometimes as "red men," and sometimes as "blacks." Their colour is a medium between the Moors and the negroes; and they at once attract the surprise and attention of a European, who, for the first time, sees them among a group of negroes. With such attention they are pleased, and are mightily proud of their difference from the blacks, and of their approach to the Moors and the Whites, whom they have come to regard as the privileged race of mankind.

The foreign origin of this race is evident, not only from their complexion and features, but from a variety of other circumstances. We are obliged to a Wesleyan Missionary, the Rev. J. Morgan, for picking up one of the local traditions on the subject. His attention was first drawn to the Foulahs at Cantaliconda, in the Mandingo country, high up the river Gambia; where he was also struck by the resemblance between them and the Loubees. This resemblance was perfect in all but the colour, for the Loubees are black. He was hence led to make inquiries of the Foulahs, whether they had any tradition of the two tribes being united, or in any way related? He was informed, in reply, that both the Foulahs and the Loubees derived their origin from a white woman, who, many years ago, came into the country, and grew very rich in cattle and in grain. She had two sons, one named Foulah and the other Loubee. The former imbibed his father's taste and habits of industry, in cultivating the land and attending to the cattle; but Loubee was indolent and neglectful, and spent his whole time chopping with his axe, and had no taste for anything else. When the father died he gave all the cattle and all the grain to Foulah, while to poor Loubee he left only an axe.

By and by we will look at these Loubees more closely, but have now only noticed them for the sake of producing this tradition. The tradition has the same features which we find in the traditions—part fable and part allegory with a foundation of facts—which form the most early "history" of nearly all nations. The Foulahs, however, have a set of oral historians, in whose memory are deposited the more authentic traditions and histories of the nation; and from this source Mollien has provided us with some facts more easy to understand than the story of the white man with his red and black sons; although in that story, as far as it shadows forth the origin of the race, those who are familiar with such traditions would find little difficulty in discovering an adumbration of the leading fact which is given in the larger statement.

According to this statement, which bears every character of truth, the Foulahs were formerly shepherds and rovers in the most fertile parts of *Northern* Africa, perhaps in Numidia. The form of the huts which they still build suggests that they were once accustomed to dwell in tents. A time at last came when the Arabian conquerors of the East poured themselves like a torrent over Northern Africa, and obtained possession of all its countries. Affrighted at this terrible invasion, the Foulahs hastened to place the desert between them and these ferocious conquerors. They fled until they reached the fruitful banks of the Senegal, where they established themselves in the tracts which they now occupy. These tracts were previously in the possession of a negro nation, the Serreres, who, at the sight of men mounted on horses and camels, fled away towards the south-west, where they formed other states, which still subsist under the names of Baol and Sin. The Moors, from whom the Foulahs had fled, soon, however, found their way after them to the Senegal, and drove them from the countries of which they had taken possession. Conscious of their weakness, and yet unwilling to abandon for ever the fertile tracts they had acquired, in order to bury themselves in barren deserts, they sought to recover by submission what they could not hold by the sword. They therefore made overtures to the Moors, and recovered the conquests from which they had been dislodged, on the conditions of paying a tax of ten measures of millet for every chief of a family, and of embracing the Mohammedan faith. This is now the established religion, so to speak, of the country, and the tribute is still regularly paid every year. But this is to be understood with a primary reference to their original settlements on the Senegal, for they have since established themselves in other countries more to the south, where the Moors have no power; for in nearly the same degree in which they found themselves inferior in war to the Moors, they were superior to the negroes. Thus the impulse originally given in the north was transmitted southward, the Moors driving the Foulahs, and the Foulahs the negroes, as one wave drives on and overrides another. Thus, in process of time, the strangers made irruptions into the regions east and south of their first settlement on the Senegal; and now, eastward, they are in Kasson (where they speak the Mandingo language) and Massina; and they even occupy several districts far in Soudan, or Central Nigritia, beyond Timbucto, including the great Fellatah nation, whose extensive territories form the dominion of the intelligent Sultan Bello, whose name so often occurs in the accounts given by the recent explorers of Interior Africa.

Southward and south-eastward the Foulahs have penetrated very far also. They occupy or possess Bondou, Brouko, and Fooladoo, Foota-jallon, Sangara, and Wassoulo, where they are Pagans; nor have we yet reached the southern limit of this extraordinary and migrant people, for they have found their way beyond the Kong Mountains into Guinea, where they occupy the country between the Grain Coast and the kingdom of Ashantee.

In all their conquests the Foulahs have united freely with the black people whom they have conquered; and thus their original race of reddish-tawny men has in a very considerable degree given place to another composed of reddish or black men, who have fixed dwellings, and have to a great extent adopted the negro manners and habits of life.

Having now told *who* the Foulahs are, and *where* they are, the more interesting task remains of telling *what* they are. In executing this task we are bound to take the course which is likely to be the most pleasant to our readers; and as we have not one nation to deal with, but several, we judge that it will be the most pleasant, and not the least profitable, to abstain from offering the reader a digest of the facts collected by different travellers among the people of whom we speak, but to allow him, to a certain extent, the actual company of such of the travellers as afford the most information. The traveller shall be the guide and the author the Mentor of these excursions in Western Africa. It will generally be found that some two or three travellers furnish the substance of all the information we possess concerning any one country. From each of these we shall draw such information as he affords better than any other, seeking in the one that follows whatever *he* relates better than the preceding. That our time may not be unnecessarily encumbered in our journeys, we shall not allow the numerous observers of lesser note to join our party; but we will examine them carefully before we set out, and whatever good information or interesting facts can be drawn from them shall be

produced as occasion requires. As by this means we shall be in possession of much information not perhaps known to the particular traveller whose guidance we take, and as such information will be introduced in the accounts which we render, for the purpose of making such accounts more complete and perfect, we can do no less than relieve our guiding travellers from any other responsibilities than such as are distinctly given to them in the statements or narratives connected with their names.

Almost all our information respecting the Foulahs, at their head-quarters on the Senegal, is from French travellers, under whose guidance we must therefore place ourselves in the first instance.

The French early formed commercial settlements at the mouth and at various points up the river Senegal, and thus formed an early acquaintance with the Foulahs. The first information concerning them of any interest is that furnished by the Sieur Brue, who was sent out in 1697 to take the principal direction of the affairs of the French African Company on the Senegal. These affairs he found in so bad a state that he was induced to undertake repeated voyages up the river, with the view of examining the condition of the settlements, and of re-establishing the commerce and credit of the Company with the African princes. His first voyage had for its chief object to adjust some differences which had arisen with "the king of the Foulahs," and from thence to proceed to Galam, where he wished to establish a factory.

The Foulah dominion is stated by Brue to extend about 580 miles* on each side of the Senegal, commencing where the Jaloof [Brak] boundary terminates, and extending to Galam. The extent of the country northward was little known, and of its southward extension nothing whatever; but it was supposed that the Foulah territory was much more extensive in that direction than northward, which is certainly the case. The Sieur Brue's intercourse was confined to the country on the northern border of the river; for no Frenchman had in his time ventured to explore the southward country. No doubt, the Foulah country on that side the Senegal really formed a separate kingdom, although Brue seems to regard his Siratik as the "Emperor" of all the Foulahs.

The Sieur voyaged in state: he was accompanied by three vessels and several small shallops, one of which, with two canoes, went on in advance to announce his approach.

In sailing up the river the Sieur was wonderfully struck with the beautiful scenery which its banks offered, as well as by the variety of new objects so well calculated to engage the admiration of a person fresh from Europe. The sowing season was just over, and the woods and meadows were clothed with the most luxuriant verdure. The loftiness and singular forms of many of the trees, the brilliant hues of the innumerable birds which flew about, and, more than all, the agility and fantastic tricks of the multitudes of various kinds of monkeys which tenanted the groves, engaged the unceasing wonder of the voyagers, and kept their attention quite awake. Among the more special marvels were the "Bird-Villages," as the negroes name the rows of nests which the Kubalot birds artfully suspended from the extreme branches of the trees, and overhanging the water, that they might be out of the reach of their active enemies the monkeys. This bird is doubtless the *Colius Senegalensis*, whose habits answer to this description, and a figure of which we annex.

The Sieur voyaged but slowly, as he tarried at various points on both sides the river, in order to purchase such commodities as might offer, as well as to cultivate or open friendly relations with the chiefs of the villages. In his progress he unfortunately found brandy the most acceptable and convenient medium of exchange. In fact, like rum to the North American savage, brandy was everywhere too strong a temptation for the virtue or prudence of the African to resist. He would go through flood and fire to procure that pleasant bane. Hence the childish cry for "Brandy! brandy!" saluted the trader and traveller on every hand; and deeply culpable were they whose measures have created and fostered this passion, for their own base gains. The Sieur himself, with the coolness of a mere trader, was led, by the experience he acquired, to recommend brandy as the most advantageous merchandise for the

* This estimate must be understood as being formed by the windings of the river, most certainly not in a direct line.

markets of Africa, observing, that the natives considered a fat ox only a fair equivalent for a pint bottle of brandy. He adds, however, that great care should be taken never to offer an African a bottle which is not completely full; for that he views with peculiar jealousy and

[Colius Senegalensis.]

dislike every vessel from which a portion of the contents has been taken; and would much prefer a bottle completely full, to a barrel of which only an inch of the depth should be vacant. We have no notion that this conduct, properly understood, is so foolish or absurd as seems to be stated. We presume that they consider the absence of a portion of the contents as an evidence that the vessel had been opened since it was originally filled; and that, having been opened, they could have no confidence that the liquor had not been adulterated.

We seize this opportunity of announcing one of the principles which will be found to characterise, throughout, the work in which we are engaged. It is our belief that most of the proceedings, conduct, or notions of savages, barbarians, or even civilized nations, which travellers set down as strange, wonderful, or ridiculous, only seem to be so from being imperfectly understood. They see the actions, or discover the notions; but their means of acquaintance with the people are too imperfect, and their own modes of acting and thinking are too different, to enable them to detect the real motives by which an intelligent and reasoning creature justifies a certain line of conduct to his own understanding. In the sincere belief that the goodness of Providence has more equally dispensed the high gifts of common sense and right reason (which indeed are but two names for the same thing) among the several races of the family of Adam, than our arrogance makes us willing to admit, it will be our anxious endeavour to *understand* the people among whom we conduct our readers, that we may be able to explain the circumstances or principles from which arise the seemingly

strange things of conduct or character which come under our notice. Believing that every strange matter has somewhere or other a more or less satisfactory reason, motive, or object, we shall endeavour to find it out; and it will have been our privilege to perform one useful labour in our day, if we succeed in making some of the "wonders" of the acting world a little less wonderful, and a little more intelligible, among a people to whom Providence has committed far larger means of doing good to men, of all climes and countries, than have been possessed by any other nation since the world began.

To return to the Sieur Brue: on his approach to the dominion of the Foulah king, called the Siratik, he received a message from that monarch, expressing desire and even impatience to see him; in estimating the value of which, the Sieur, rather uncharitably, but perhaps not the less truly, allows much weight to the fact that the Siratik had been apprized of his intention to pay up all the dues which had been withheld by his predecessor. Another and more urgent messenger seemed to chide his delay, before he reached the port or trading place of the kingdom, called Ghiorel. He was here received with distinction, and was invited to advance inland to the royal residence, called Gumel, which lay some thirty miles northward. He accordingly proceeded thither with a rather imposing retinue, and was met and entertained at the end of the first day by one of the royal princes whose estates lay thereabouts. According to etiquette, the prince, in coming forth to meet him, brandished his dart in the attitude of one about to immolate the governor, who in his turn presented his pistol in a similarly threatening manner, but on coming near they both alighted and embraced. This prince introduced Brue to his wife, who seemed to him young, handsome, and agreeable. Her features were regular, her eyes lively and well formed, her mouth small, her teeth even and white, and her olive complexion improved by the use of a little rouge. He afterwards visited two or three other of the prince's wives, who returned the compliment and acknowledged his presents, by sending some choice African dishes for his supper. When this was finished it was announced that the *folgar* or ball was ready. This ball consisted of dancing and singing by all the young men of the village, while those more advanced in years sat around on mats conversing together. This they call *kalder*, "to argue or converse," and forms one of their greatest pleasures. "Every one talked on what subject he liked, and it was easy to perceive what happy memories they were blessed with; and what great progress they might be expected to make in all knowledge, were their natural gifts properly cultivated." Their manners were polite, and their expressions correct and dignified. This entertainment lasted two hours, and was then broken up by a violent shower, which sent all parties home.

The next day the Sieur reached the royal palace, which was not in the principal village, but half a league beyond it. We may suppose it was no very splendid fabric. It was, in fact, a large collection of the ordinary cabins, within an inclosure of green reeds interwoven together, and defended from the wild beasts by a thick hedge of thorns. The Sieur, on being introduced, beheld the king seated upon a kind of couch or divan, surrounded by several of his wives and daughters, who sat on mats upon the ground. He was a good-looking personage, about fifty-six years of age, his hair and beard beginning to turn grey. His complexion tawny, with a well-shaped aquiline nose—nothing of the negro about him. He rose as Brue entered, shook his hand repeatedly, and made him sit down. The result of the conference was that the Siratik freely consented not only to permit the establishment of factories, but the erection of forts in any part of his dominions. Now, the natives were generally, and quite naturally, very reluctant to allow forts to be built by Europeans in their dominions; and the Sieur was, therefore, so much delighted at the king's frankness, that he largely increased his original presents, and thereby greatly strengthened the good impression he had made.

This business being settled, the director was introduced to the audience of the king's wives and daughters, whom he propitiated by presents remarkable rather for their novelty than their value. One of the king's wives having noticed that during the audience the Sieur had looked with unusual attention at one of the young princesses, her own daughter, took it into her head that he was in love with her; and she gave the king such a hint on the subject, as induced him to offer Brue the honour of the young lady's hand in marriage, together with large

estates, slaves, and preferments. Sorely troubled, the Sieur endeavoured to excuse himself by pretending that he was already married, and that his religion allowed him to have but one wife. This declaration raised quite an uproar of astonishment among the royal females; but their warm discourse on this theme ended in the conclusion that the women must needs be eminently happy in a country where the man could have but one wife. After the Sieur had retired, a great supper was sent him from the ladies, served up in large wooden platters and calabashes. The king himself sent him a young slave for his supper. The reader must not conclude that the slave was roasted or broiled for the table of the commandant, but the king made him a free present of the slave without hope of payment or return; and by sending him as part of the supper, he intimated the freeness of the gift, as it would be considered inhospitable and mean to take or exact payment for the fare with which a guest is provided.

Next morning the king came to the Sieur's chamber and conversed familiarly with him while he dressed; he was then taken to a review of the cavalry, which offered nothing very remarkable, save the clumsiness of the military musical instruments. On his return he had an opportunity of witnessing the administration of justice. The Siratik was surrounded by ten aged counsellors, who examined the parties separately. They were then ordered to withdraw, and the old men made their report to the king, who conferred with them respecting the sentence. The parties were then recalled, and sentence pronounced by the king, and immediately executed. This looks very much like the modes of adjudication of which we read in the Old Testament. Many such analogies will occur as we proceed, and need be accounted for by nothing more recondite than a reference to the necessary or, at least, very natural analogies and resemblances which exist in similar phases of the social system among different nations. In these transactions each party pleaded or stated his own cause, and no advocate or attorney was to be seen, which makes Labat (Brue's editor) cry out, "Happy people, who have not yet felt this scourge of God's wrath!" The punishment of death was rare, it being judged most beneficial for all parties that the higher culprits should be banished; which, being interpreted, proves to mean that they were sold for slaves to the French, and their effects confiscated. The insolvent debtor was sold with his whole family—a third of the price going to the king. Now it is certainly a most dangerous thing that it should be made the interest of the supreme judge to convict rather than to acquit an accused person. But the same thing exists in our own country, where fines and the property of felons go to the sovereign. No one suspects any danger in this, as in a country of such revenue as ours, the amount thus acquired is too trifling to have any influence. But it was different formerly here, and must be so in any country where the revenues of the crown are so narrow as to render fines and confiscations of any importance. So under the Hebrew kingdoms, the want of an adequate revenue, from well-determined sources, led to outrageous abuses of this description, men being found guilty for the sake of the penalties which accrued to the crown. Witness the conduct of Ahab to Naboth, who was unjustly put to death for blasphemy and treason, that his vineyard might become forfeit to the crown.

Soon after the king made known to the governor his intention of withdrawing higher up the country *to avoid the mosquitoes*, which at this season swarmed in prodigious numbers in the low grounds near the Senegal and its tributaries. In parting, the king embraced the commandant, made him a present of some slaves, and promised that in a short time he would furnish a large number.

The Sieur had an opportunity of witnessing the removal of the court. The procession began with a body of 160 horsemen—a mounted band of musicians, furnished with small drums, trumpets made of elephants' tusks, and brass kettles furnished with a kind of coarse parchment—the whole being much more noisy than melodious.

Next came the king's wives and female slaves. The former rode upon camels, after a fashion which, with some variations, is very common for women in Asia as well as Africa. Each camel carried, pannier-wise, two large osier baskets, one balancing the other, and each containing one of the royal ladies, whose head only was visible. The baskets and cruppers of the camels were covered with tapestry, or fine cotton cloths, and shaded by umbrellas of cane, and each of the animals

was led by two men, who were watchful to prevent the baskets from overbalancing each other. The female slaves followed on asses, and some rode beside their mistresses to divert them with their chat, to light their pipes, and to render such other small services as might be required. After these came a long train of camels, carriage oxen, and asses, laden with the baggage of the court. As in all such cases in Africa and the East, the men and women travel in separate parties; the king's party followed at some distance behind that of the women. The musicians came first as before, followed by a body of 200 horsemen, well equipped, armed, and mounted. After them the king rode apart on a beautiful barb, dressed in a scarlet surtout, with a belt and sword, in the then French fashion, his head covered by a gold-laced beaver hat and white plume. This dress was of course procured from the French, who have the good taste and feeling, in gratifying the fondness of the native princes for European attire, to dress them becomingly and well, instead of allowing them in their ignorance to make tom-fools of themselves by absurd misappropriations. The king had a pair of pistols at his saddle-bow, and held a dart in his hand. On approaching where the Sieur Brue stood, both uncovered, and after shaking hands several times, and exchanging a few short compliments, took leave of each other.

The monarch was followed by about 400 or 500 horsemen, riding four abreast. In the first ranks were the principal officers and courtiers, all well mounted. Besides the sabre and dart, each had a bow and arrow hung across his shoulders, with scarfs of different colours around their waists, and altogether this troop made a gallant show. Then came the king's furniture on camels, oxen, &c., and some carried by porters: and the long train was closed by 200 armed horsemen who served as a rear-guard.

This Siratik, or "Emperor of the Foulahs," as Brue calls him, could bring a large body of troops into the field, as the chief officers and governors of provinces are each obliged to furnish his quota, and hence this monarch was much respected by the neighbouring princes. As the king has much facility in getting horses from the Moors, his army is unusually strong in cavalry, without being deficient in infantry. The troops are chiefly armed with bows and sabres.

On his return to the river, the Sieur was much entertained by a curious branch of traffic which had sprung up between his mariners and the native women. The latter were greatly amazed at seeing the bilge-water pumped out of the wells of the vessels, and, soon discovering its peculiar scent and flavour, were not slow in concluding that water subjected to so wonderful an operation, and manifesting qualities so peculiar, could not be but a sovereign remedy for all diseases of the eyes, the ears, and the teeth. All those who were troubled with such disorders therefore hastened to offer milk and other good things in exchange for this precious water. The trade was managed by the surgeon, named Beranger; and when there was any disagreement with the women about the quantity of milk to be given, this person, with great command of countenance, threw the water back very carefully into the pump, as if it were a liquor of great value. Labat sarcastically recommends the trial of this new remedy in France, where the women are as simple, he says, as in Africa, and the quacks as greedy of gain and as free from scruples as Monsieur Beranger.

The Sieur Brue deferred to a more convenient season his projected visit to Galam, and returned down the river to Fort St. Louis. This design he, however, executed the year following (1698); but although he visited the Foulah Siratik on his way, and his observations may have increased his materials for the separate account of the Foulah nation which Labat has drawn up from his notes, there is little of interest, as far as regards that people, in the account of the journey itself. We shall therefore only mention that the notice of the French was again very strongly drawn to the large variety and prodigious number of the monkeys. They very properly wished to obtain specimens, and the natives were so much astonished at the liberal recompense offered and given for animals which they detest on account of the mischief they commit in the fields and gardens, that they brought rats also for sale, expecting that the singular taste of the whites would attach an equal value to animals not more numerous or more destructive than the monkeys. It was remarked that the various species never mixed toge-

ther, but kept separate; the natives count them delicate eating. They carry their young on their backs, like the negresses; the French killed several to which the young ones still clung. Those who shot them aimed at their faces, because by clapping their paws to the wound they lost their hold, and so fell to the ground; whereas if wounded elsewhere they clung to the branches in death, and remained hanging there to rot. On the remoter frontier of the Foulah kingdom they met with a species, not previously observed, of a large size and clumsy make, and of so lively a red that they looked as if painted. These came in crowds from the tops of the trees to the extremities of the branches, in order to take a view of the boats as they passed, and chattered together mightily, as if conversing on what they saw. They appeared to come in successive parties, and at last became bold enough to throw down dry wood into the vessels. This the French returned by a few shot, which brought down some and wounded others, and threw the whole concourse into an amazing consternation: some squalled in the most frightful manner, others hastened to collect stones and other weapons of offence to cast at the strange invaders, but they soon discovered that the combat was unequal, and prudently withdrew into the woods. These are the apes which the negroes believe to be a wild people, who will not speak for fear that they should be sold for slaves, and obliged to work—a notion comical enough exteriorly, but full of bitter matter within. They call this species *Patas;* but there is nothing in the description or in the name which enables us to identify it with any such as have yet been clearly described of the numerous species of the monkey tribe which throng the woods of tropical Africa.

Another circumstance excited much astonishment in the French, which only shows that the "ignorant" Africans knew something better than they did. They were visited by a man who called himself "King of the Bees;" and, sure enough, a swarm of bees followed him wherever he went, as a flock follows the shepherd. His whole person, especially his cap, was so laden with them as to look like a swarm when it first settles. When he departed, his bees followed him by thousands, besides those that stuck to his body; yet neither the man himself, nor any one near him, received a single sting. It is obvious that the man knew the secret—probably known to other Africans also, but unknown then in Europe—that if he secured the queen-bee, her subjects would follow wherever she went, and that her presence would protect him from their stings.

From the separate account which the Sieur Brue's information enabled Labat to give of this Foulah nation, we select a few points, with additions from other sources.

The country is very populous, and the soil so rich that, if the people were industrious, its produce would enable them to carry on a most advantageous trade with strangers; but their chief attention was in those times engrossed by the slave-trade, and the peaceful pursuits of agriculture were neglected; nor was this a state of circumstances which the French traffickers had any strong desire to alter.

The persons of these Foulahs are described in accordance with the account previously given. They are in general less lusty and robust than their Jaloof neighbours; but they are much more active, and their figures more neatly made. Of hard work they are likewise less afraid; and were hence good farmers, and made large harvests of millet, cotton, tobacco, pease and other pulse. They also had a large number of cattle of all kinds. Their sheep and goats were excellent, and their oxen fat and well fed. From them the French obtained the largest and cheapest supply of hides. Most of their produce was consumed among themselves, and in consequence they live much better than the Jaloofs, or perhaps than any other people in this quarter.

The country abounds in game of all kinds, from the elephant and the lion to the hare; and the Foulahs are fond of hunting.

Sabres and darts are their ordinary weapons, and they throw the last with great precision and effect. The bow is also much employed by them; and such of them as possess fire-arms, and know how to use them, employ them to great advantage in hunting and battle. Their bow, which is made of bamboo, is very elastic and strong, and, in defiance of the old English proverb, is kept constantly bent. The cord is composed of a thin piece of bamboo split lengthwise.

The arrows are not feathered (as they are in some other African nations), and are often poisoned.

The disposition of this people is lively, and their manners polite. They are accordingly fond of European wares, and are a pleasant people to deal with; but, says Labat, in his usual curt way, "it must be borne in mind that they are all knaves, only differing in degree." If so, how came they to be such?

The Foulahs were distinguished from some of the other Mohammedan nations by their fondness for music; so that even their princes did not disdain the accomplishment of touching an instrument with ease. They were also as fond of dancing as the Pagan negroes; but it would seem that, with respect to both music and dancing, some change has in later years come over their spirit, as we shall in due time notice.

They dress much like the Jaloofs; but they prefer yellow colours to red, which is a favourite colour with the negroes generally. We have often been inclined to think that the more or less fondness for bright-red colours forms no bad standard of comparative civilization. All savages are fond of reds, and the more savage they are, the more they like them; but in the same proportion that societies advance in civilization, reds disappear from their attire. Thus, in our own country, reds were common in the dress of all classes of the people not more than a century ago; but (soldiers and livery-servants apart) now such colours are never seen, except among the most stationary portion of our people—the peasantry, the women in their cloaks and kerchiefs, and the men in their waistcoats. So far it is a good sign that the Foulahs have come from red to yellow; although, in this point of view, yellow is only a little better than red.

The women are rather below the middle size, but handsome and well shaped. Their features are delicate, and the expression of their countenance pleasant. Their hair is long, soft, and thick, and of a shining jet: and, next to dancing and music, the dressing of it seems the chief object of their solicitude. This reminds us to mention, that it is one point in the state and dignity of a queen, never to scratch her head but with a golden bodkin. They were exceedingly fond of the cottons and moreens which the French imported, and made with them long flowing robes, which became them well. They are also fond of yellow amber, and drops of gold or glass of that colour, of which they make knots and chaplets dressed upon cotton, and fix them in their hair, where they look "quite pert and genteel." Labat, who wonders that silk-manufactures had not been introduced for the benefit of the Foulah females, takes occasion to remark that there are no women who know better how to have seasonable fits of the spleen and vapours, when their fathers or husbands demur at providing them with such finery as they require.

By the established laws of this Foulah monarchy, as well as in many of the negro kingdoms, the crown is limited to one family, but does not descend from father to son, but from brother to brother, or from nephew to nephew. Thus, when the king dies, his next brother succeeds; if he have no brother, the son of his full sister takes the crown, or, in preference, the son of his mother's daughter. The reason for all this is, that the low state of morals among the women, consequent in some degree upon the practice of polygamy, causes it to be considered that the blood-royal is the most certainly untainted in the female than in the male line. The blood of the sons of a king is, in a peculiar degree, considered dubious. The only instance in which the sons of a king pretend to the throne, is when they have married a princess of the blood; because in that case the royalty of blood is sure on one side at least; and if by any accident they fail themselves of succeeding, the right of the children is considered indisputable, and is always admitted.

The Siratik, to whom our readers have already been introduced, endeavoured to alter this system in favour of his own son. His views were supported by the Moors, while the people themselves were strongly in favour of the nephew, whom they considered the lawful heir. But this prince determined to quit the country with his numerous adherents, rather than engage in a war with his uncle. He was, nevertheless, forced into an action with the king's son, in which the latter was soundly beaten. The nephew, however, reflecting upon the consequences of a civil

which could only bring the nation more entirely under the Moors, determined to execute his original intention, leaving his uncle to reign and die in peace, hoping that afterwards he might be able to recover the throne, through the affections of the people and their conviction of his right. This accordingly happened; but not until 1702, after he had passed thirty years in this highly honourable banishment.

In speaking of the character of a government, it is difficult to discern whether the particular aspect which it bears is owing to the personal character of the king, or to the fixed principles of the government. It would appear, however, that the Foulah kings are far from despotic sovereigns, and that they rarely venture to act without the sanction of public opinion. The Siratik, whose acquaintance we have already formed, seldom appeared with the badges of his rank, but was a prince of great authority with his subjects, and there was no monarch in that quarter more respected by his neighbours; yet he ruled with such gentleness and moderation, that all his decisions seemed to be those of the assembled people rather than of a single person.

Whether the "grandees" are such by birth or office we do not well understand; probably the latter, as we read of none but such as are governors of the provinces, military commanders, or officers about the court. The chief officer is the *Kamalingo*, the king's lieutenant-general, who is looked upon as the representative of the king's person, and is attended by a court little inferior to that of the sovereign. The *Kamalingo* is usually the heir apparent—that is, the brother or nephew of the king. Each of the officers and governors holds his place by the tenure of bringing forward his quota of horse and foot when required by the king. For the support of this charge he was allowed to sell for slaves not only the prisoners taken by his division, but also all such negroes, within his own jurisdiction, as were *found upon the road*, not in arms for the king. This is a barbarous law, and appears to have been felt as such; and, as such, guarded from becoming an instrument of tyranny in the hands of the sovereign. *He* was excluded from this privilege, and could not himself sell into slavery any but convicted criminals; and while the king might not assume this privilege himself, so neither could he take it away from any one to whom it belonged in virtue of the office which he held, however much it might be abused, as it often was, to gratify private resentment and avarice. He might remove such a person from his office; but while he held the office he could not be deprived of this privilege connected with it. For the existence of such a law there is the old tyrant plea of *necessity*. Nations will war; and this nation failed to discover any other means, or any equally easy, by which the charges of a military force might be defrayed.

CHAPTER III.

FOOTA-TORO.

[Baobab Tree, *Adansonia digitata.*]

The Foulah dominions south of the Senegal, or, in other words, between that river and the Gambia, have, at comparatively recent dates, been visited and described by Park and by Mollien, the former being the chief source of our information respecting the kingdom of Bondou, and the latter for that of Foota-toro. As only the river divides this last kingdom from that which we have already visited, it has a claim upon our first attention.

In 1817, G. Mollien, an ardent young Frenchman attached to the French service in Senegal, received the permission he had long sought, to realize the dreams of his boyhood by exploring the interior of Africa. He shall be our guide through Foota-toro.

Departing from Fort St. Louis, he proceeded almost due east, traversing the kingdoms of Kayor and Bourb Jaloof, and then passed through the very heart of Foota-toro into Bondou. He had therefore all the advantages and disadvantages of seeing them as uninfluenced by the proximity of European settlements, or by the presence of European commerce.

Although a Foulah kingdom, a large proportion of the inhabitants are Jaloofs. Mollien complains of much rude behaviour from the villagers in travelling though this country; but admits that he always experienced protection and redress from the chiefs and principal inhabitants. Nothing very serious occurred, however—perhaps, nothing more than an African would meet with in travelling according to his own notions through the rural districts of many European countries.

On approaching Sedo, the town where the Imaum (Al-mami*), or sovereign-pontiff, of

* *Almami* seems the usual title of the Foulah sovereigns in several of their kingdoms. It means literally "The Imaum;" and so we shall usually set it down, to avoid the awkwardness, in our language, of using as a title a word the first syllable of which is the definite article. As the title refers to the function of the king as religious leader of "the faithful," the title would be better represented by "sovereign-pontiff" than by any other known in our language.

Foota-toro then was, he writes:—"Since I had been in the interior of Africa, I had not beheld so beautiful a scene. A spacious and well-cultivated plain opened before me; the fields were interspersed with clumps of trees; several large villages indicated the opulence of the country, in the midst of which rose Sedo, a town containing a population of 6000 souls."

Soon after his arrival Mollien was summoned to an audience with Almami. On arriving with his native friends the sovereign was at prayers; and they were desired to seat themselves on sheep-skins till he was ready to receive them. He at length appeared. Mamadoo (his proper name) seemed about sixty years of age. His countenance was not wanting in expression, and his forehead even indicated the man of genius; but there was a lurking cruelty in his features which indicated that in any other than a Foulah country he would have been a tyrant.

His dress was composed of loose white drawers; over his shoulders was thrown a cotton tunic with wide sleeves; and his head was covered with a scarlet cap, encircled by a cloth in the usual form of a turban. "When he was seated," says Mollien, "I gave him my hand, and we mutually asked each other the usual questions concerning the state of our health. He then inquired my name, and to what country I was travelling. I replied, that I was going to Woolli to weep over the tomb of my father, whom the Pagans had murdered there; that the object of my journey was to collect the remains of his fortune; and that I hoped on my return to make a liberal recompense for the kindness he might show me. He approved of my resolution, paid high encomiums to my filial piety, and told me I was at liberty to depart. Profound silence pervaded the assembly during the conversation between the Imaum and myself. The moment I rose a dreadful tumult commenced. The government of Foota-toro is an oligarchy, and the very populace possess power. Some censured, others approved, the dismission granted me by the Imaum; each loudly supported his own opinion; but no one attempted to stop me when I was about to retire. I had scarcely left the king's house, when the crowd, anxious to see a white man, escorted me back to my hut. Setting aside the unpleasantness of being surrounded by so many people, I had no fault to find with the behaviour of these negroes. Some took me kindly by the hand, or touched my beard; others expressed their high opinion of my person, declaring that I was a Marabout, a learned man, or doctor of laws, *because I knew how to write.*" This last circumstance reminds us of the state of education in our own country,—

> "When want of learning kept the laymen low,
> And only priests were authorized to know:
> When what small learning was, in them did dwell,
> And he a god who could both read and spell." DRYDEN.

The king had come to Sedo to recruit his army, being then at war with the king of Galam. Some of the generals took advantage of this circumstance to awaken his suspicions respecting the objects of Mollien's journey. They appear to have suspected that his baggage contained powder, which he was carrying to their adversary. Several came in the course of the day and asked why he had not embarked in a vessel to go to Woolli (which is south of Foota-toro, and on the north bank of the Gambia); and also, why, with the riches he possessed, he had not remained quietly at St. Louis, instead of exposing himself to the intense heat of a sun so insupportable to Europeans?

In the course of the day Mollien had occasion to ascertain that the office of executioner was held by an Imaum; but every one being liable to take the duty if commanded by the sovereign, the post was not, as in Europe, considered dishonourable. The next day he had the opportunity of seeing several persons punished for neglecting to join the army. They were flogged, and made to accompany the army in fetters. We have seen that in former times (on the opposite side of the river, and probably here also) they would have been sold for slaves: but by this time the vigilance of the English had thrown many obstacles in the way of the slave-trade of Senegambia.

Our traveller found means to propitiate Almami and the principal chief by a present of ten grains of coral to each, and received renewed permission to depart. "I was surprised," he says, "that men filling the dignities of the state should accept so paltry a gift. But the

people of Africa, like those of Asia, do not attach so much importance to the intrinsic value of the present as to the gift itself, which they regard as a homage paid to power." This is a very just remark, of which many Scriptural illustrations will occur to the mind of the reader.

At Sedo, Mollien had lodged in the Jaloof quarter. At noon, on the day of his departure, he halted at the hut of a Jaloof, and it is not without surprise we find him remarking that he had observed during his journey that this nation had more cordiality and generosity than the Foulahs: among the latter there was not the same kindness towards strangers, nor the same abundance, as with the Jaloofs. Many people came to see the white man: the greater part appeared to regard him with pleasure; but one of them cried with horror, "I should not like to be alone with this man. His white face terrifies me: I should be afraid he would kill me." He was now among Jaloofs, however: but he says, this was not the first time he had remarked the disagreeable impression which the colour, features, and whole person of a white man produce on the negroes. A young girl examining him one day, and feeling his hair, exclaimed, "His hair is like a horse's mane!"

At Ogo, Mollien was taken to the house of the Imaum Fenebe, the chief of the village, who, to his great astonishment, saluted him with, "Bon jour, Monsieur!" and added in Jaloof:—"Here is your house: if you are hungry, we will give you something to eat; if you are thirsty, you shall have drink; if you are tired, you shall rest yourself." It proved that this person had on one occasion been to St. Louis, and had conceived much esteem for the Whites; and to have learned that by kind treatment it was easy to obtain tokens of their good will. Over his red cap he wore, instead of the cloth envelope, a round hat, which had been given him at St. Louis. He was a weakly-looking person, but animated, voluble, and restless, possessing, and conscious of possessing, much superiority of mind and character over his countrymen. While staying here our traveller was much annoyed by questions from others, which the good feeling of his host repressed. Among them was the old question, why he had not gone to Woolli by water; for, says Mollien, "These people do not think a white man can travel if he has not a ship under his feet."

At Senapale, Mollien found unexpectedly that he had reached the village of the faithful guide and interpreter (a Marabout), whom he had engaged at St. Louis, and who became the companion of his whole journey. This person was most affectionately received by his sister and niece, and was himself quite happy:—"All I wish," said he to the traveller, "is to be able some day to come and live in Foota-toro. We negroes, when we settle in a foreign country, are anxious to amass a small fortune, that we may return as speedily as possible to the place where we were born and where our relatives reside." This man's name was Boukari; his two female relatives were pretty, in the judgment of our Frenchman; "They had oval faces, fine features, delicate shapes, elegant and graceful figures, and a skin as black as jet: for as Mulattoes are sallower than Europeans, so the Toucolars, the offspring of pure Foulahs and negroes, are of a darker colour than the latter." A curious fact, if true.

At a place called Banai, Mollien was taken before the chief, who expressed his distrust as to the real objects of his journey. The traveller pleaded the permission of Almami: "Then why," asked the chief, "has he not given you a letter?" A question which convinced the traveller that in this part of Africa, at least, the natives have correct notions of the regulations to which travellers ought to be subject. A remark which comes naturally enough from a Frenchman, in whose country, as elsewhere in continental Europe, travellers are subject to many restrictions;—but which would scarcely have occurred to an Englishman. He adds, with his usual good-humoured philosophy, "I could not complain of injustice towards me; for in Europe the want of a passport would in like manner have caused me to be arrested." The chief ultimately decided that Boukari should ride back to Almami on his master's horse; and that till his return the traveller's goods should be deposited in a storehouse to preserve them from pillage. "Such a decision," says Mollien, "proved to me more strongly than a thousand arguments that Foota-toro is really under a regular government, that the police is administered in the name of the prince, and that the machine of government is calculated to promote

the public welfare." This would seem to be the result of his general observation, rather than a deduction from the particular facts.

The storehouse in which the traveller's goods were placed was thirty-two feet in circumference and eighteen feet in the loftiest part; the door formed an oval, as large as a man's body, and as it had a lock, Mollien shut himself up with his goods. Here, however, the children assembled, and, through the chinks, managed to annoy him considerably, as children would do everywhere in such cases. He, however, took it all quietly, waiting patiently for the time when his supper was brought him. "In my adversity," he philosophises, "I was much more sensible of this attention, for I recollected that in France, a mayor who stops travellers on account of the irregularity of their papers, never gives himself the trouble to supply them with food." The chief of the African village, much less civilised but more humane, furnished his prisoner with an excellent repast, according to the manner of the country; "he even had the courtesy to go himself and cut some straw for my ass."

The coolness of the evening invited the traveller to quit his retreat to breathe more freely. He seated himself at the door, but, unluckily, the village school was in the vicinity, and when the children had extinguished the fire which is kindled that they may see to read by its light, they all came and seated themselves by his side. "I must confess," says our traveller, "that during my travels I have always trembled at the sight of a troop of women or children: these weaker classes of society are the eternal torment of the traveller in the interior of Africa. These children, to the number of at least fifty, tormented me in a variety of ways; some took off my shoes, and almost flayed my feet by putting them on and pulling them off again; others tried on my hat, and laughed at my appearance in this covering; some unbuttoned my clothes, and, but for the presence of three old women, I verily believe they would have stripped me stark naked."

The chief of Banai had a library consisting of four books of prayers, in Arabic, no doubt, there being no other *written* language in Western Africa, except from the recent labours of our English missionaries. While Mollien was examining them, Boukari returned with two men from the king, with orders for the traveller to come back to him. He was advised to obey this mandate, and accordingly was desirous of starting the same day; but this was not the purpose of Almami's people; and when our Frenchman stormed on the subject, a Toucolar gave him an answer to which, he avows, he could find no reply:—"Thou complainest of being unceasingly questioned and exposed to a thousand vexations; but we are very differently treated when we go to St. Louis. A soldier one day was going to kill me there, because I did not answer when he cried *ti vive* (*Qui vive?*), words that I did not understand."

At the moment they were about to depart, a caravan arrived, belonging to and composed of merchants of the very nation with which the Foulahs were at war. Notwithstanding the war, the merchants of the two nations continued to trade freely and securely, without being subject even to those searches which occasion traders so much inconvenience. Relying on the probity of the merchants, both governments joined to protect them; and no instance was known in which a caravan had been pillaged by either of the armies. "The natural good sense of the Africans," remarks our traveller, "has given them institutions, which political scence, after ages of systems and experiments, would scarcely have procured for them."

The Imaum was now at Daudialli; and on the way thither, at a village called Canel, Mollien found the Imaum of the neighbouring Foulah kingdom of Bondou, who had come to visit his ally of Foota-toro. He proved to be an old man of sixty. He was kind to our traveller, who waited on him, and was offered his protection and a passage through his dominions. At Dandialli, after proper explanations and a respectful but spirited remonstrance from Boukari, the Foota-toro king promised the traveller a guide, either back to St. Louis, or forward to Woolli. He then immediately departed from the village to join the Imaum of Bondou, whom Mollien had already seen at Canel. Our adventurer was advised to follow in the retinue of the king, and thus had an opportunity of witnessing the military preparations of this monarch. The roads were crowded with foot and horse soldiers going to join the army. Some soldiers had leather boots without soles, others straw hats—all were covered with several cloths. Most

of the muskets were in very bad condition; the stocks of some had been made by the negroes themselves. Several were armed with lances, some with sabres; asses were laden with the baggage of the principal officers; for the private soldiers carried with them all they wanted, and among the rest, their provisions, which consisted of a small calabash of water and a bag of dry *kouskous* (a preparation of millet). The powder-horns in general were nearly empty, as the soldiers were but too prone to give away their powder for victuals on the march, so that, when they came to an engagement, they often had but one charge of powder remaining. In a more collected form the troops presented rather an imposing appearance; for all the men of Foota-toro when they go to war wear a dress somewhat "similar to that of the Mamelukes"? All have white turbans, and robes of the same colour, and the horses, which to the number of 300 marched in two lines, like our squadrons, produced a good effect. Behind the cavalry marched the infantry, mostly armed with muskets, to the number of about 1200 men.

The night after his return to Canel, Mollien was curious to know the subject of much animated conversation among the natives, and ascertained from Boukari that the Africans, "like ignorant Europeans, are fond of talking about what they do not understand." They believed that Whites live exclusively upon the water; that they have neither land, houses, nor cattle; that the rivers and great waters belonged to them, but the earth was the patrimony of the Blacks. Mollien concluded that in this notion he had found the reason why white men alone are forced to pay imposts to the negro kings, who regard them as tributaries.

While the traveller was attentively listening to this conversation, one of the party accosted him, begging him to write for him the name of Jesus Christ, assuring his companions that it was by pronouncing this sacred name that the white men procured all their riches. Mollien complied; and then the man asked what he ought to do to obtain all sorts of good things from Issa (Jesus). Here had been a fine opportunity to a missionary of preaching Christ; but Mollien, who probably knew as little of the doctrine of Christ as the negro himself, replied, That he must work hard and sleep little! The Foulah could not hide his disappointment at so impotent an answer, and having more reliance on faith than works, asked for another written *gree-gree* (charm or amulet). This was given. "The negroes would worship a straw," says our companion, "if they thought it had the power of enriching them."

At Canel he fell in with a man who had lost his hearing through a custom, no less barbarous than extraordinary, among the people of Foota-toro. A slave who wishes to change his master seeks by surprise or force to cut off the ear of the man he fancies: if he succeeds, he immediately becomes the property of that person, and his old master cannot claim him again. To this practice the person in question owed his deafness. Two slaves had successively cut off each an ear close to the head, and the wound in healing had entirely closed the auditory canal. "This man was certainly very unfortunate for his reputation for kindness, which gained him the good opinion of the slaves. He must now be careful of his horses; for as he has no ears himself, it is these animals whose ears the fugitive slaves will next attack."

It is surprising to notice in how different ages and countries an operation on the ear has been considered to constitute a binding obligation, especially in connexion with slavery, one way or another. The reader will remember that the Hebrew slave who refused manumission when the year of freedom arrived, underwent the ceremony of having his ears nailed to the door-post, to signify his permanent bondage to the master of the house.

Our traveller at last got a passport—rather a new thing, we may suspect, in Foota-toro. It was written in Arabic, on paper furnished by Mollien himself, and ran thus:—"Almami Mamadoo, and the excellent personages who form his council—Aldondou, Eliman-Siré, Sembaiené, Boumandouet, Eliman-Rindiao, Ardosambadadé, Dembanaiel. We have written this letter, that it may be read by all those who meet this white man, and that they may learn that he has visited us, and that we have allowed him to depart. The prince of the faithful, and all the grandees of Foota, have said to him, 'Go.' All the villages shall afford him hospitality, and shall not stop him as far as the frontiers."

By the aid of this passport, Mollien soon found his way out of Foota-toro, and entered the kingdom of Bondou, where we shall soon meet him again; but first, we desire to present the

reader with the substance of his general observations on the kingdom and people of Foota-toro.

The Foulahs of Foota-toro are not the original red Foulahs, but a race of mulattoes sprung from intermarriages between them and the Jaloofs and Serreres. The character, therefore, which is given to the population is rather that of a mixed race than of the pure Foulah. These mulattoes are called Torodos, from whom the province of Toro in Foota derives its name, which has even been extended to the whole country, because these Torodos have made themselves masters of it, and driven out the red Foulahs by whom it was formerly occupied. The latter, dispersed in the deserts of the kingdoms of the Bourb-Jaloofs, Kayor, and Salum, still lead there the roving life of their ancestors; a very small number of them, however, have retained their colour. The red Foulahs and the Torodos speak the language of their forefathers, but mingled with Serrere and Jaloof words. The Serreres are evidently the most ancient inhabitants of this part of Africa; their language, which is extremely simple, is probably one of the oldest, and their wild manners have not undergone any change. Foota-toro is now a sort of theocratic oligarchy, in which the people possess considerable influence. Aldondou, Eliman-Siré, Sembaiéné, Boumandouet, Eliman-Rindiao, Ardosambadadé, and Dembanaiel, are the chiefs of the country; they are probably descendants from the ancient chiefs of the Foulah tribes, when they were a wandering people. Each of them is proprietor of a portion of the country, and they jointly exercise the sovereign authority. The first two always enjoy a kind of pre-eminence over the others, for their two voices form a majority in the council; but to give their decrees greater weight with the people, they create an Imaum (Almami), whom they select from among the common Marabouts. All the acts of government are performed in his name, but this Imaum cannot take any step without consulting his council. When they are dissatisfied with this chief, they retire during the night to an elevated spot, and, after a long deliberation, the Imaum is deposed and another immediately elected in his stead. They desire his attendance, and address him in these words—"We have chosen thee to govern our country with wisdom;" and no doubt they add, "and to execute our commands." The Imaum then takes the Koran and says, "I will strictly follow that which the book of God prescribes; if he commands me to give up my wealth, to sacrifice my children, I will do it without hesitation." Upon this, Aldondou on one side, and Eliman-Siré on the other, present the new Imaum to the people, saying, "Here is your king! Obey him." The people applaud, and the elevation of the new prince to the throne is celebrated by salutes of musketry. The Imaum makes presents to the seven chiefs, and in his turn receives donations of flocks and slaves from the people. When the deposition of the Imaum is pronounced, the children proclaim it to him, uttering cries and throwing mud and stones at his hut. He then retires, relinquishes all the insignia of authority, and returns into the class of private citizens. If he does not obey the orders of his successor, he renders himself liable to be scourged by his former subjects. Nothing is less durable in this country than the supreme power; in 1818 there were successively three Imaums. Each of the seven chiefs at his death is succeeded by his brother.

In Foota-toro, and among the Moors, there exists a sort of freemasonry, the secret of which has never been revealed; the adept is shut up for eight days in a hut; he is allowed to eat but once a day; he sees no person excepting the slave appointed to carry him food; and at the end of that period a number of men, in masks, present themselves, and employ all possible means to put his courage to the proof; if he acquits himself with honour, he is admitted. The initiated pretend that at this moment they are enabled to behold all the kingdoms of the earth; that the future is unveiled to them, and that henceforward heaven grants all their prayers. In the villages, where persons of this fraternity reside, they perform the functions of conjurers, and are called Almousseeri. One day, Mollien's interpreter, Boukari, told him, after attesting the truth of what he was about to say by the most solemn oaths, that being in a canoe with one of these men, there fell such a heavy shower of rain that he would not depart; yielding, however, to the wishes of the Almousseeri, he set sail—"Torrents of rain fell on all sides," added Boukari, "but our bark remained perfectly dry, and a favourable wind swelled our

sails. I asked this Almousseeri to explain his secret, but he answered, that if he revealed it his brethren would infallibly destroy him." Ignorance being everywhere favourable to mystery, Foota-toro is not the only West African country in which we shall have to notice such institutions.

Another class of persons, who make an extraordinary figure in Foota-toro, are the singing men, or Goulahs, who, like the ancient bards, travel about the country, singing the praises of those who choose to purchase renown, or venting their sarcasms upon such as have offended them. Although the profession itself is regarded with contempt, and the professors denied a grave, yet they have continued to render themselves very formidable by their influence over public opinion by means of the eulogies and satires of which they are equally lavish. They also acquire much wealth, as the kings and chiefs seldom dare offend them by the refusal of what they demand or expect. They are a most unprincipled set; and their power strikingly evinces the influence which even unprincipled intellect and acquirement bestow, among an ignorant people. Having introduced them to the notice of the reader, we shall dispose of them, once for all, by adducing the best account of them we have met with. It occurs in the Rev. J. Morgan's paper on 'The Foulahs,' inserted in the 'Wesleyan Magazine' for 1834:—

"The singing men, or bards, are instrumental or vocal musicians, who profess to record in their songs the chief military adventures of the different tribes, and to transmit them from one generation to another. The habits and manners of these men are the most brutal of any I ever saw. They are all, without exception, given to drunkenness. Their chief delight is in drinking palm wine (a liquor extracted from the palm tree), which, when fresh-drawn, is a very pleasant and simple beverage, but which, in a state of effervescence, is very intoxicating. On account of their drunkenness and other brutal habits, the bards are held in abhorrence by the Mohammedans, and even by some of the Pagans; so that they will not allow them a burial in the earth, lest it should be accursed with barrenness on their account. When they die, they are put into a hollow tree at some distance from the town—a sort of tree commonly called the monkey bread tree, which on this coast grows very large, and becomes hollow as it gets old, furnishes them with a sufficient number of tombs. When conversing with an old man of this profession, on the near approach of death, he told me he did not expect to live long, and was looking for a tree for himself before he died.

"From men thus destitute of moral principle, a regard for truth cannot be expected. Their chief object is to flatter their kings, by whom the most fulsome adulations are received with delight. No people in the world can be more fond of flattery respecting the heroism of their ancestors, their own character or personal beauty, than these petty chiefs; and as beauty, according to their taste, is proportioned to bulk, a higher compliment cannot be paid to a king than to tell him that he is like a bull or an elephant.

"These bards are sometimes employed as the tools of the people to incite the kings to go to war. To accomplish this end they compose songs on the valiant achievements of their ancestors, which soon kindle in the kings a flame of warlike daring, of which they are very susceptible; they then sing of the injuries sustained from their enemies; and these strains immediately excite a thirst for revenge, which they consider a most exalted virtue. They even think themselves bound to revenge the injuries of their family for generations back."

The tree, which forms the tomb of the Goulahs, is in itself so remarkable an object in the scenery of this part of Africa, as to deserve a further notice. The Monkey Bread tree, better known in books as the Baobab tree (*Adansonia digitata*), presents a most singular aspect; for while the trunk seldom rises above twelve or fifteen feet from the root to the branches, its circumference often reaches seventy-five feet. The lower branches, themselves as large as great trees, are at first horizontal, extending perhaps as many as sixty feet from the trunk. Their great weight causes the extremities to dip to the ground, so that the trunk is often entirely hidden, and the whole object presents the appearance of an enormous mass of verdure. The wood is soft; whence the common practice among the negroes of excavating the trunk out into chambers, wherein to deposit the bodies of malefactors and of Goulahs, and of others to whom rest in the earth is denied. These soon dry up and become perfect mummies. Adan-

son, the French naturalist, made calculations that specimens still found near the Senegal were probably 5000 years old! This gave a peculiar interest to the tree as "the oldest organic monument of our planet;" but the physical principle on which such calculations were formed is open to doubts and objections, and has lately been impugned with effect by Professor Lindley and others. The tree affords a fruit of which monkeys are fond, hence its name of monkey bread-tree.

All the Foulahs of this country are rigid Mahomedans; and, according to Mollien's report, are extremely intolerant, and animated by a strong zeal for conversion.

The traveller we have just named is the only one who attempts to estimate the general character—that is, the national character—of this people. Thinking, as we do, that, to draw such a character accurately, much more knowledge of a people is necessary than the mere passing traveller has the means to acquire, and convinced that such a traveller generally draws around him the worst and not the best people of a country, and consequently the worst and not the best materials on which a judgment may be formed, we submit this picture with no strong conviction that it may not need much correction from a future more improved knowledge of the people to whom it refers.

According to this, then, the Foulahs of Foota-toro would seem to be one of the most vain-glorious nations in existence. Foota-toro is, according to its inhabitants, the first country in the world, and the Foulah infinitely superior to the native of any other region. In their opinion the European distinguishes himself only by his industry, but is weak and cowardly. The negro is destined to live in slavery, and after death to be plunged into the flames of hell. The Moor alone is brave, and may be placed next after the Foulah; yet these people, although so haughty and presumptuous, have twice been completely beaten by the Jaloofs. If they exercise hospitality towards a stranger, it is not from a motive of benevolence; it is ostentation that generally induces them to offer an asylum to the traveller. The character of the Foulah is violent; he soon flies into a passion; his comprehension is quick, but, like the negro, he is too indolent for long-continued reflection. Perfidious and hypocritical, the Foulah, at the moment when he gives you his hand, is perhaps forming in his mind a project for assassinating you. The Foulah, whose colour is a deep black, is unsusceptible of any feeling of affection. Like all the race of mulattoes, these Foulahs despise the negro, and detest the red or primitive Foulah, from whom they originally sprung. They are incessantly soliciting presents; and if they meet with a refusal they load you with a torrent of abuse, or spit in your face. Notwithstanding these odious defects, they possess one great quality, national spirit. They never sell each other; and when they learn that one of their countrymen has been sold, they go and rescue him from the hands of the purchaser.

The Foulahs breed great numbers of horned cattle, which constitute their chief property. Such is the attention which they pay to these animals that notwithstanding the enormous price of salt, they give it to their oxen for the purpose of fattening them. They have also many asses; their horses are small, but excellent in point of speed.

The Foulah is industrious; his hut is well built; his clothes are woven with care; he ornaments them with figures in a delicate taste; his productions of iron and leather, although well made, are inferior to those of the Moors. Every village has its weavers, shoemakers, and blacksmiths. Those trades are quite sufficient for people who know no other wants than those which nature has imposed on all mankind.

Sandals are made in a really elegant manner, of red morocco of a brilliant tint; and the mechanism of their locks, although simple, shows that the smiths are not deficient in ingenuity. Their stirrups, silver bells, ear-rings, and other trinkets, display some talent in the workmen. The art of weaving is considerably advanced; they have arrived at the manufacture of muslin, coarse indeed, but useful. The country is in general well cultivated; and on the banks of the Senegal the Foulahs have in some places even the patience to encircle each ear of millet with a wisp of straw; without this precaution the birds, especially the parrokeets, whose number is infinite, would destroy their crops.

Architecture is absolutely in its infancy among these people; their houses are constructed of

earth mixed with the dung of cattle; the roof is composed of long poles; when the walls are quite dry, the roof is merely laid upon them without being fastened down; its conical form prevents it from being overthrown; it is then covered with straw. These huts have but one door, and are much warmer than those of the Jaloofs: when the door is shut, however, nothing can be seen—an inconvenience which does not exist in the hut of the latter, because the light penetrates through the reeds which form the wall.

The manner in which the Foulahs manufacture their earthenware is very simple:—After having shaped their vessels, they place them upon one another in the middle of a field, covering the whole with straw, to which they set fire; and this suffices to give them a sufficient degree of baking.

The black Foulahs are more numerous than the red, the ancient inhabitants of the country: they are of ordinary stature and well proportioned. Some wear their hair long, others cut it quite close: they wear very wide drawers and a long tunic, with large sleeves; their head is covered with a small cotton cap, and they are almost all armed with muskets.

The women are pretty and well shaped, have oval faces and delicate features; their hair is long, and they braid it round their heads; their feet are small, but their legs somewhat bowed; they are seldom so stout as the negresses. They load their hair with ornaments of yellow amber and coral, and their necks with gold or glass beads; over the head they throw a muslin veil; some wear a jacket with sleeves: like the negro women, they have a cloth fastened round the waist. They are not slaves like the Jaloof women, but wives, and in reality mistresses of the house. They obey; but only when they please: and their husbands are obliged often to give way to them. Sometimes they threaten to take them before the chief of the village to obtain a divorce from them, and if matters are carried thus far, they have recourse to tears to influence the judge. "Why dost thou ill treat thy wife?" he will say to the husband. "A woman is a weak being without strength, without support, whilst a man possesses all; go, invite thine back to thee, and, to appease her just anger, make her a present!" Peace is never signed without costing the husband an ox or a slave. From this difference of manners between the Jaloofs and Foulahs, it may be inferred that civilization is more advanced among the latter than among the negroes; for there is no test of comparative civilization in nations more certain than the consideration with which woman is treated. It is among the lowest savages that she is the least considered; and the more civilized man becomes, the more the prerogatives of woman increase, and the more she comes to be considered man's equal in all things that befit her sex.

The women, however, are exclusively charged with the household labours: they sleep little, for during the greater part of the night they are employed in pounding millet, which is a very fatiguing occupation. Seldom do they receive a kind word from their husbands; never are they admitted to the honour of sharing their repast; such is the state of a wife in Africa.

The Foulahs, since they became Mahomedans, have renounced the favourite amusements of other blacks—dancing and music. Mollien saw no other instrument among them than a kind of Jew's harp, the sound of which cannot be pleasing to any other than an African ear; the Foulahs of this country confine themselves to the recitation of prayers, the melody of which resembles the chanting of our psalms.

Most of the Foulahs are engaged in trade, but the name of merchants can scarcely be given to any but those who carry their goods from one country to another; and these are more enlightened than the rest of their countrymen. As a natural result of their distant travels, they have a great esteem for Europeans; but, like all men of their class, they are great egotists and very selfish. The traveller saw many stammerers, blind persons, and idiots in this country: the deaf people were few, and none insane, "because there are so few passions."

When a rich man wishes to marry, he goes to his father and imparts to him his desire to make such and such a female his wife: the father of the young man then repairs to the house of the girl's father. After he has communicated the proposal, the young man kills a bullock and sends it to his intended father-in-law: if he eats of it, this is a sign that the wishes of the lover will be complied with. From that time he does not again see his mistress or her mother:

if he meet them abroad he avoids them. Some time afterwards he sends another bullock. When the wedding-day arrives he presents his bride with three slaves, and his father and mother-in-law and their children with a bullock each. The parents of the girl give her three slaves, ten bullocks, forty cloths for herself, and four pair of drawers and four tunics for their son-in-law. In case of divorce, the woman receives back her dowry, which at her death belongs to her children, who, if she be divorced, remain with their father.

Connected with this country apparently (for the geographical intimations are very obscure) is a story which nearly a century ago made some noise in this country. It relates to a person named JOB BEN SOLOMON, son of the Imaum (or spiritual and temporal chief) of *the town* of Bunda,* which had been founded by his grandfather. Mr. Murray, in his "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa," appears to consider that Job's father was *king* of the country; and applies to him the title of "young prince," "royal captive," &c. But it is clear from the original narrative that the country was ruled by another person, whose name is indeed given, and the education of whose son (and ultimate successor) was confided to the father of Job, who thus became the fellow-student of Arabic and the Koran with the young prince.

In 1731 Job's father heard that an English slave-ship had arrived in the Gambia; and he sent his son, accompanied by two servants, to sell two slaves and to purchase paper and other necessaries. Job was strictly enjoined not to cross to the other side of the river, which was inhabited by the Mandingoes, deadly enemies of the Foulahs. But not being able to make a satisfactory bargain for his slaves with the English captain, named Pyke, he determined to go further, and sent the two servants back to acquaint his father with this intention. Accordingly, having agreed with a person who understood the Mandingo tongue, to go with him as interpreter, he crossed the Gambia, and ultimately disposed of his slaves in exchange for some cows.

Returning home, he rested one day at the house of an acquaintance; and, the weather being hot, hung up his arms—his sabre, quiver, and knife—near at hand. At this time a party of seven or eight Mandingoes, living by plunder, passed by, and, observing that he was a Foulah, and unarmed, rushed suddenly upon him, pinioned him, and made him their captive. Their first operation was received by Job as a great indignity and disgrace; they shaved his head and beard, to make him seem like a prisoner taken in war, "the captive of their sword and of their bow."

By what will be by many, at this day, considered an act of retributive justice, Job was sold by the men-stealers to the very Captain Pyke to whom he had himself so lately offered two slaves for sale. He contrived, however, to satisfy the captain that he was the same person who had only a few days before offered to trade with him, and to acquaint him with the manner in which he had been enslaved. On this Captain Pyke was willing that he should redeem himself; and Job accordingly sent to make known his condition to his father. But the distance was considerable, and before any answer could return the vessel had completed her cargo, and was obliged to sail. Very soon after several slaves arrived from the father as a ransom for the son; but it was too late—the vessel had departed.

The slaver was bound for America, and Job was sold to a Mr. Tolsey, of Kent Island, in Maryland. He was at first employed in the culture of tobacco; but it was soon found that he had not been used to labour; and his master, willing to give him easier work, set him to tend the herds. It does not appear that he experienced any positive ill-treatment; but the recollections of his former condition, and the ridicule and insult which his strict observance of the posture-making devotions of Islam brought upon him from the thoughtless white youths, ren-

* The analogy of name leads Mr. Hugh Murray to conclude that the *Bunda* was the same as the *Bondou* of Park and other travellers. But the Bunda of Job ben Solomon is a town, whereas Bondou is a kingdom, and we know not that it contains a town of the same name. Moore repeatedly states that Bunda was a town of the kingdom of *Foota*. The word *Foota* is a prefix denoting a Foulah kingdom. There are two kingdoms which have it—Foota-toro and Foota-jallan. Job's country could not be the latter, because it was not *then* a Foulah kingdom, and because it is south, not north of the Gambia. The only Foota north of the Gambia is Foota-toro, which agrees in every respect with the intimations given by Moore. Although the northern border of Foota-toro is the southern bank of the Senegal, the southern parts of the kingdom are so much nearer the Gambia that a person having slaves to dispose of, would be much more likely to take them to the latter river.

dered his state so insupportable to him, that he resolved to make his escape. He travelled through the woods until he reached Kent county, in the bay of Delaware; but, being unprovided with the requisite pass, he was there arrested by virtue of the act against fugitive slaves, and lodged in prison, or rather in the house of the jailer, which was an inn. Some attention being here drawn to his case, he was visited by several persons, among whom was Mr. Bluet, who afterwards drew up the history of his life. From his manner and carriage it was perceived that Job was no common slave; but as he could speak no English, it was difficult to understand his condition. However, on signs being made, he wrote some lines of Arabic and read them aloud; and by the recurrence of the words "*Allah*" and "*Mohammed*," and by his refusal of some wine which was offered to him, it was perceived that he was a Mohammedan. But nothing further could be ascertained until an old Jaloof slave, whose language Job understood, met him and drew from him the particulars we have related.

A letter was then written to the master from whom Job had fled, who came to fetch him home, and, instead of being provoked by his flight, used him more kindly than before, provided him a place where he might pray unobserved, and allowed him other privileges to render his condition less burdensome to him. But slavery was still insupportable to Job. "The iron had entered into his soul," and cankered all his privileges. To be the most privileged of slaves was something far less than being a free man. In hope of some relief, Job wrote a letter in Arabic to his father, giving an account of his condition. It was of importance that this letter should be transmitted by the hands of the captain to whom he had been sold. But Captain Pyke had sailed for England before the letter reached the port; and he had sailed from England for Africa before the letter reached London. Meanwhile other letters had made the story of the writer known in England, where it became a general theme of conversation, and, together with Job's own letter to his father (which was sent to Oxford to be translated), so engaged the sympathy of Mr. (afterwards General) Oglethorpe, who held a high place in the African Company, that he sent instructions that he should be ransomed and brought to England, with the view of restoring him to his native country.

On the voyage Job made rapid progress in learning the English language; and behaved so as to gain the love and esteem of all who voyaged with him. When he arrived, Oglethorpe, whose activity in settling the colony of Georgia procured him Pope's well-known panegyric—

> "One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
> Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole"—

had left England for that colony, and the care of Job devolved upon his friend Mr. Hunt.

It was not long before he received the rich present of FREEDOM from the African Company; and this had a wonderful effect upon his health and spirits. He became an object of general interest, and received marks of attention from some of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom. Sir Hans Sloane appears to have employed him in translating some Arabic manuscripts and in deciphering inscriptions of medals.* His memory is said to have been very extraordinary. Copies of the Koran were at that time very scarce and difficult to procure. Job, therefore, to gratify his friends, undertook to write out a copy from memory, which he did; he then wrote out two others without referring to the first or second, and they were found perfectly to agree. He had a peculiar turn for mechanism, and readily apprehended the construction of various machines which were brought under his notice. On seeing a clock, a grist-mill, and a plough taken to pieces, he was able to put them together again without the least direction. Though a zealous Moslem, he talked in a temperate and rational manner on religious subjects. The "even-handed justice" which *we* see in the slave-seller sold, was of course not perceptible to him: but he considered his captivity fortunate from its enabling him to acquire various branches of knowledge of which he must otherwise have remained ignorant.

One day Job expressed to Sir Hans a great desire to see the royal family. He was accordingly decked out in a rich silk dress, made after the fashion of his country (where, however,

* So Moore says: but Bluet takes no notice of this, although he intimates that Job was patronised by Sir Hans Sloane.

no one dresses in silk), and was taken to court, and introduced to their majesties and the rest of the royal family; and received from the queen the present of a gold watch. The same day he dined with the Duke of Montague and some other nobles, who, after dinner, made a handsome collection on his behalf. The duke took him into the country and caused him to be shown the implements used in husbandry and gardening, and to be instructed in the use of them; and then he presented him with a collection of such instruments, which, with other valuable gifts, he caused to be packed up in chests and put on board the vessel which was to restore our Foulah to his native land. He received many other presents and favours from the nobility and gentry, to the amount of above 500*l.*, and in July, 1734, embarked on board one of the African Company's ships, bound to the Gambia, after a stay in this country of fourteen months.

Here the narrative of Bluet leaves Job. But on his arrival in Africa his history is taken up by Francis Moore, the letter to whom, containing his appointment to be chief factor at the settlement of Joar on the Gambia, contained the following:—"By this conveyance comes one black free man, by name Job ben Solomon, whom you are to use with the greatest respect, and all the civility you possibly can." Mr. Moore being then about to depart for Joar, Job agreed to go there with him. On the way, as they rested one evening, under a great tree at Damasensa, there went by five or six of the very men who three years before had fallen upon Job and made him captive, about thirty miles from this spot. Notwithstanding the alleged mildness of his disposition, which is much extolled, Job's passions were on this occasion so strongly moved that he was with great difficulty dissuaded from falling upon them with his pistols and broadsword. The consequences of so rash an action were, however, so forcibly set before him that he curbed his rooted hate of his enslavers, and even entered into conversation with them, in the course of which he learned that the king of these people had been killed by the accidental firing off of a pistol which was among the articles Captain Pyke had given for the liberty of Job. On hearing this Job fell into a rapture of gratified vengeance; he fell on his knees, and thanked God; after which, turning to Moore, he said, "You see God was displeased at this man for making me a slave, and therefore made him die by the pistol for which he sold me:"—a marked, but not singular, instance of the partial eyes with which men so often view the dispensations of Providence. The very same reasoning which led him to fancy that the king met his death for selling him for a slave, might have brought him to suppose that his own enslavement was a punishment upon himself for selling two fellow-men, although he believed that they would be murdered and eaten. But, after a pause, he added, "I ought to forgive him, because had I not been sold I should neither have known the English tongue, nor have had the fine, useful, and valuable things I enjoy, nor have known that there was in the world such a place as England, or such good and generous people as I found there."

Arriving at Joar, Job felt desirous of sending a messenger to make his arrival known to his father. A Foulah was found who happened to know that personage, and who expressed the utmost joy at Job's return from slavery, he being the only man who had ever been known to return, after having been taken from the country as a slave by the white men. By this man Job sent also some presents to his wives, and desired him to bring back with him his "little one," his best beloved.

After his messenger had departed, Job went much about among the natives in the neighbourhood of the settlement. To them he spoke very handsomely of the English, and Moore says that what he said "*took away a great deal of the horror which the Foulahs have for the state of slavery among the English.*" This looks like a very politic use of Job. But Moore adds that the Foulahs generally imagined that all who were sold for slaves were eaten by the whites, or at least murdered, since none ever returned. His descriptions also gave them an enlarged notion of the power of England. He sold some of the presents he had brought with him from thence for trading goods, *with which he bought a woman slave* and two horses, which were useful to him, Moore says, and which he designed to carry with him to Bunda. He was in the habit of giving the natives a good deal of writing paper, which is a very useful commodity among them, and of which the Company had given him several reams. He often

went through his Moslem prayers, and behaved generally with such mildness and affability as soon rendered him very popular and much beloved.

It was four months before Job's courier returned from Bunda, and the news which he brought was of a very gloomy description. His father was dead, but had lived to receive his letters from England, announcing his redemption, and the attentions paid to him there. One of his wives had been married to another man, who thought proper to abscond as soon as he heard of Job's return. The country had also been so vexed by cruel wars during his absence, that scarcely a cow was left in a land once replete with numerous herds. A number of Job's old acquaintance came with the messenger, and by them he was received as one returned from the dead. Great was the joy of that meeting, softened by Job's grief for the loss of his father. Three or four days they spent in conversation, interrupted only by food and sleep. He extended his forgiveness to the wife who had married again, and to the man to whom she had been married, observing, " They could not but think I was dead, seeing I had gone to a land from which no Foulah ever returned."

Notwithstanding the unfavourable character of the intelligence he had received, Job ultimately determined to return to his own country; and he was on the point of departure when Moore, to whom we are indebted for our information, quitted Africa. Job wept at the parting, and committed to Moore's care various letters to his patrons in England; also desiring him to state that he intended to learn to *write* English, and would then send them longer epistles with fuller accounts of all that might thereafter happen to him; adding, that he hoped to spend his days in endeavouring to do good to the English, who had redeemed him from slavery and loaded him with favours.

In the archives of the African Company probably some further notices concerning Job ben Solomon might be found; but we are aware of no published accounts which give any later information of his proceedings.

Job talked much of his own country; but his statements went little further than to corroborate what was already known from other sources; and the little that was then new in his accounts has since been superseded by clearer information.

We do not know what knowledge the Portuguese had of Foota-toro. They had some; for it is unquestionable that this is the country to which they sometimes allude by the name of Tora; and the absence of the prefix Foota may perhaps intimate that the Foulahs had not yet, or only lately, acquired the mastery in that kingdom.

The Jesuits who, in 1604, were sent out to improve the religious condition of the Portuguese, as well as to convert the natives, appear to have behaved with temper and discretion. They exerted themselves much in reforming the abuses which their predecessors (the Dominicans) had tolerated if not encouraged, among which we read with pleasure of their endeavours to rectify some of the more notorious abuses of the slave trade, to which upon the whole they were not friendly, although they considered that their position precluded them from denouncing that trade on broad and general principles, and confined them to the amelioration of its practical evils. They arrived at St. Jago (one of the Cape de Verde Islands) in 1604. At this time the Portuguese had been acquainted with, and had occupied points on, the coast and islands above 150 years, and both were largely occupied, as the French and English also found, by a population of Portuguese descent by negro women. These, while retaining a sort of bastard Portuguese language, had approximated in many important respects to the native savages, from whom they differed in some places very little. They had the chief management of the traffic between the negroes and the Portuguese.

Among the abuses against which the Jesuits set their faces, were the practices of resorting to pretended wizards and sorcerers; and the still more heinous abuse of baptism, under which it had been usual to baptize 300, or 400, or even 700 slaves at once, previously to their embarkation for India or Brazil, without the least attempt to communicate any instruction to them. They also compelled the restoration to liberty of numbers of slaves whom the Tangos (Portuguese mulattoes) and natives of the coast could be proved to have stolen and sold unjustly; for, it is

remarked, these people sought such prey with the like ardour with which the hunter or the falconer pursues his game. The Jesuits, indeed, made it a point to refuse baptism to every one who would not relinquish "man-stealing;" and this when the persons were such that great credit to the Order would have accrued from their baptism. Polygamy was also urged by them as an impediment to baptism; and their boldness in insisting on this before kings, demands our special admiration, under all the circumstances. They also bestirred themselves with great activity in putting down the barbarous practice which they found everywhere prevalent, of immolating, for his use in the other world, the wives, slaves, and horses of a deceased king. From the frequency of this custom in former times, and its comparative rarity now, it is probable that more credit may be ascribed to the Catholic Missionaries than may at the first sight appear. The archives of Portugal might probably throw much light on many matters, respecting which information is much desired: for it is certain that the Portuguese, by the permanence of their residence, and by their free connections with the natives, made an impression upon the coast and islands of West Africa, which has scarcely yet been adequately estimated, and which no other nation has in any degree rivalled. As to the Jesuits, we shall have sufficient fault to find with their measures in the course of this work, to allow us to express much pleasure at the steps taken by them, in this quarter, in a right direction: they deserve the more credit for it, as they were not much supported by the Portuguese residents, who, having been long destitute of Christian instruction and the ordinances of religion, were, in fact, little better than the heathen among whom they lived.

One of the Missionaries went to Sierra Leone, where, after some preparation, he baptized the king and various members of his family. At the baptism, mass and sermon, was present the son of the king of Tora (Foota-toro), who reported the matter with great admiration to his father. "This," said he, "is a father indeed, and not like those who have hitherto come into these parts, and who, not less than other Portuguese, have been concerned in the traffic of slaves and other unrighteous things." This is evidently levelled at the Dominicans, to whom the Missionary operations in this quarter had, in previous times, been confided. This king of Tora was a hundred years old, but as hale as a man of fifty. He was the conqueror of the country over which he reigned;—a valuable fact if true, as helping to fix the date of the commencement of the Foulah domination in that quarter.

This old king was himself present at the ensuing celebration of Christmas. The imposing ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church are well calculated to strike the imagination of savages, although it does not appear that much solid dependence can be placed on impressions thus created. On this occasion, "the altar, adorned with fair cloths, the image of our Lady, with the child Jesus on one side, and the crucifix on the other, four candlesticks with large tapers, and the walls and floor adorned with goodly boughs"—all in connection with what he had previously heard and understood, so worked upon the old king, that he desired to be baptized. He was required to put away all but one of his wives, with which he complied; and his baptism was deferred until Easter, that more complete instruction might be given to him. Meanwhile, writes the Missionary (Balthasar Bareira), "two of his sons, and two of Philip's (the king of Sierra Leone), are my constant companions: I teach them the catechism, and to read." He adds that measures had been taken to build a church, to be constructed, like all the buildings of the country, of timber, plaster, and thatch.

This is the only notice of Foota-toro which we find in these accounts.

CHAPTER IV.

BONDOU.

[African Lion.]

With the Foulahs of Bondou, which adjoins Foota-toro on the south-east, Park made us acquainted long before it was visited by Mollien or Major Gray. He entered the country from Woolli, on the south. One of the first circumstances that occurred was a violent quarrel between two of his fellow-travellers, which gave him occasion to remark that an African would sooner forgive a blow than a term of reproach applied to his mother. "Strike me, but do not curse my mother," is a common expression even among the slaves. So it was among the old Hebrews. The reader will recollect Saul's mode of abusing his noble son Jonathan—"Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman!"

At Koorkarany, a Mahomedan town, surrounded by a high wall and provided with a mosque, Park was shown a number of Arabic manuscripts. The marabout, or priest, read and explained to him in Mandingo some passages of one of the books called "*Al Sharu*," a digest of Mahomedan law. In return, Park showed him Richardson's "Arabic Grammar," which he greatly admired.

One day our traveller was amused at the means taken by the negroes to subdue a refractory ass. They cut a forked stick, and putting the forked part into the ass's mouth, like the bit of a bridle, tied the two smaller parts together above his head, leaving the lower part of the stick of sufficient length to strike against the ground, if the ass should attempt to put his head down. After this the ass walked along quietly and gravely enough, taking care, after some practice, to hold his head sufficiently high to prevent the stones or roots of trees from striking against the end of the stick, which experience had taught him would give a severe shock to his teeth. This contrivance produced a ludicrous appearance; but Park was assured that it was commonly resorted to, and was always effectual.

On arriving on the banks of the Falamé river, (which flows into the Senegal,) he had an opportunity of observing various modes of catching fish.

"The large fish were taken in long baskets made of split cane, and placed in a strong current, which was created by walls of stone built across the stream, certain open places being left through which the water rushed with great force. Some of these baskets were more than twenty feet long, and, when once the fish had entered one of them, the force of the stream prevented them from returning. The small fish were taken in great numbers in hand-nets, which the natives weave of cotton, and use with great dexterity. The fish last mentioned are about the size of sprats, and are prepared for sale in different ways; the most common is by pounding them entire as they come from the stream, in a wooden mortar, and exposing them to dry in the sun, in large lumps like sugar-loaves. It may be supposed that the smell is not very agreeable; but in the Moorish countries to the north of the Senegal, where fish is scarcely known, this preparation is esteemed as a luxury, and sold to considerable advantage. The manner of using it by the natives is, by dissolving a piece of this black loaf in boiling water, and mixing it with their *kouskous*."

On reaching Footaconda, the capital, Park was soon invited to the house of a respectable slatee, or merchant. There are neither inns nor caravanseries in Western Africa; therefore, when one comes to a place where he has no friends to whom he can repair, he stands in some place of public resort until an inhabitant invites him to become his guest; a custom exactly similar to that intimated in the history of the Levite, who, at Gibeah, went and sat down in one of the streets, until an inhabitant invited him to his house. (Judges xix. 15—21; also Gen. xix. 1—3.)

Soon after a messenger arrived to conduct him to the king; and we shall give his own account of the interview:—

"I took my interpreter with me, and followed the messenger till we got quite out of the town, and crossed some corn-fields; when, suspecting some trick, I stopped, and asked the guide whither he was going. Upon which he pointed to a man sitting under a tree at some little distance, and told me that the king frequently gave audience in that retired manner, in order to avoid a crowd of people; and that nobody but myself and my interpreter must approach him. When I advanced, the king desired me to come and sit by him upon the mat; and, after hearing my story, on which he made no observation, he asked if I wished to purchase any slaves or gold: being answered in the negative, he seemed rather surprised, but desired me to come to him in the evening, and he would give me some provisions.

"This monarch was called Almami,* a Moorish name, though I was told that he was not a Mahomedan, but a kafir or pagan. I had heard that he had acted towards Major Houghton with great unkindness, and caused him to be plundered. His behaviour therefore towards myself at this interview, though much more civil than I expected, was far from freeing me from uneasiness. I still apprehended some double dealing; and as I was now entirely in his power, I thought it best to smooth the way by a present: accordingly, I took with me in the evening one canister of gunpowder, some amber, tobacco, and my umbrella; and as I considered that my bundles would inevitably be searched, I concealed some few articles in the roof of the hut where I lodged, and I put on my new blue coat, in order to preserve it.

"All the houses belonging to the king and his family are surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converts the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is subdivided into different courts. At the first place of entrance, I observed a man standing with a musket on his shoulder; and I found the way to the presence very intricate, leading through many passages, with sentinels placed at the different doors. When we came to the entrance of the court in which the king resides, both my guide and interpreter, according to custom, took off their sandals; and the former pronounced the king's name aloud, repeating it till he was answered from within. We found the monarch sitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. I

* It is not a proper name, but a title, "The Imaum," as we have explained before, and we have generally preferred so to use it.

repeated what I had before told him concerning the object of my journey, and my reasons for passing through his country. He seemed, however, but half satisfied. The notion of travelling for curiosity was quite new to him. He thought it impossible, he said, that any man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey, merely to look at the country and its inhabitants. However, when I offered to show him the contents of my portmanteau, and everything belonging to me, he was convinced; and it was evident that his suspicion had arisen from a belief that every white man must of necessity be a trader. When I had delivered my presents, he seemed well pleased, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himself and his two attendants, who could not for some time comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. After this I was about to take my leave, when the king desired me to stop a while, and began a long preamble in favour of the whites, extolling their immense wealth and good dispositions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on my blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed particularly to catch his fancy; and he concluded by entreating me to present him with it—assuring me, for my consolation under the loss of it, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one who saw it of my great liberality towards him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, particularly when made to a stranger, comes little short of a command. It is only a way of obtaining by gentle means, what he can, if he pleases, take by force; and as it was against my interest to offend him by a refusal, I very quietly took off my coat, the only good one in my possession, and laid it at his feet.

"In return for my compliance, he presented me with great plenty of provisions, and desired to see me again in the morning. I accordingly attended, and found him sitting upon his bed. He told me he was sick, and wished to have a little blood taken from him; but I had no sooner tied up his arm, and displayed the lancet, than his courage failed, and he begged me to postpone the operation till the afternoon, as he felt himself, he said, much better than he had been, and thanked me kindly for my readiness to serve him. He then observed that his women were very desirous to see me, and requested I would favour them with a visit. An attendant was ordered to conduct me, and I had no sooner entered the court appropriated to the ladies than the whole seraglio surrounded me, some begging for physic, some for amber, and all desirous of trying that great African specific *blood-letting*. They were ten or twelve in number, most of them young and handsome, and wearing on their heads ornaments of gold and beads of amber."

Their remarks on his features and complexion have been quoted in a preceding page (25). He adds:—

"On my part, without disputing my own deformity, I paid them many compliments on African beauty. I praised the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses; but they said that flattery, or (as they emphatically termed it) *honey-mouth*, was not esteemed in Bondou. In return, however, for my company or my compliments (to which, by the way, they seemed not so insensible as they affected to be), they presented me with a jar of honey and some fish, which were sent to my lodging; and I was desired to come again to the king a little before sunset.

"I carried with me some beads and writing-paper, it being usual to present some small offering on taking leave: in return for which, the king gave me five drachms of gold; observing that it was but a trifle, and given out of pure friendship, but would be of use to me in travelling, for the purchase of provisions. He seconded this act of kindness by one still greater; politely telling me that, though it was customary to examine the baggage of every traveller passing through his country, yet in the present instance he would dispense with that ceremony; adding, I was at liberty to depart when I pleased."

Our former acquaintance, Mollien, entered this country when he quitted Foota-toro, and, in doing so, had the good sense to abandon his European garb, and assume the dress of the natives, which appears to be much like that of the Arabs. The alteration seemed an astonishing improvement in the eyes of his native friends. "Thou art now," said one of them, "dressed as a man ought to be. In thy European clothes thou wert like a woman!" The

traveller himself justly remarks that "the Arab dress is much more noble than ours; it above all sets off the negro, while ours disfigures him. A negro in an European dress is awkward, and looks like a clothed ape; when covered with his tunic his appearance is dignified."

Our traveller was much struck by the difference of manner between the inhabitants of Bondou and of Foota-toro, which he attributes to the difference in the form of government. He was no longer received with immoderate laughter, but was taken by the hand with reverential admiration. The children and even adults kept at a respectful distance, and spoke in a low voice. He was no longer harassed with unceasing and ridiculous questions, but experienced the same open hospitality which he had previously found among the Jaloofs. Mollien's facts are better than his reasonings; for he concludes, "I have remarked in Africa that the most wealthy nations are the least hospitable, and that the republican tribes are cruel and insolent; and lastly, *that the more civilization has advanced, as in Foota-toro, the more the hearts of the natives are corrupted.*" Here he evidently takes a leaf out of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The statement is not worth confuting in this place, as we shall have ample opportunities of proving by facts that all *true* civilization is humanising. There is nothing in his own accounts to show that Foota-toro is more "civilized"—oh, much-abused word!—than Bondou.

In Bondou, and elsewhere in Africa, it is usual for one who wishes to rid himself of troublesome persons to shut his eyes, pretending sleep, on receiving which hint they all retire—a good custom.

On his way Mollien was struck by the large numbers of bees and the abundance of honey. The hives are shaped like ours, but the entrance is at the bottom. They are suspended from trees, which we fancy may have been an old Hebrew custom, as we read of honey dropping from the trees (1 Sam. xiv. 25-27). Flowers are so rare that it was a matter of wonder whence the bees procured their supplies. The honey has a coarse and yet insipid taste, disagreeable to an European who has not accustomed himself to it: it is also full of fragments of leaves, which give it a black colour.

Passing through a wood some butterflies, of little beauty, were noticed, giving occasion to the remark, that the splendid butterflies so common in equinoctial America are very rare in Negroland.

Christians find it advantageous to the growth of all holy affections to obey the injunction of the "Author of their faith" by "praying in secret," in the privacy of their chambers, to their Father in heaven, who "seeth in secret," and to whom the faintest aspiration of the heart is audible. But it is to be feared that a duty which only GOD, and not *man*, is to witness, and which receives from man none of its reward or applause, is often languidly performed, and often neglected altogether. Between the entire neglect, and the *private* practice, Christians have little religion recognisable by an African or Asiatic, who himself prays at stated times, in public or not, as convenience dictates, and who knows nothing of secret prayer. It thus becomes a question whether a Christian traveller—not to say a missionary, who will of course do so—should not be heedful to let it be known that he *does* pray, without ostentatiously obtruding his prayers upon the notice of the people.

These remarks are suggested by an incident which occurred to Mollien while traversing the woods in which the kingdom of Bondou terminates southward. The scene described is such as one who anywhere travels in a caravan of Moslems may witness every day:—

"Our caravan presented a very striking spectacle at sunset, when my companions fell upon their knees to adore the Almighty. The chaunts of these pious men, which suddenly broke the silence of the vast solitude, filled my soul with a religious awe. This simple and affecting homage, offered to the Creator of the world in the heart of a desert, could not but produce such an effect on me, although my belief was not the same as that of the negroes. I blushed on finding myself standing alone in the midst of a troop of men on their knees, thanking God for having protected them thus far on their journey. When the prayer was finished, one of them approached me and asked me if I never prayed. I answered that my journal was the book in which I wrote my prayers. This stratagem, which I always made use of, served to prevent all suspicion respecting the object of my journey."

Bondou was visited in 1818 by Major Gray, who entered it on the side of Woolli.

It was about the middle of May, and the approach of the rainy season was announced by thunder and lightning, accompanied by a perfect calm and intense heat of the sun and atmosphere. These signs called the people to the labour of preparing their corn and rice-grounds. In this country the labour necessary for the purpose of cultivation is very light. The ground is merely cleaned of the old corn-stalks and such weeds and young wood as have sprung up during the dry weather, all of which are burnt, and the ashes strewed on the surface. Small holes are then made in the ground, a foot or eighteen inches apart, and two or three grains of corn (maize) dropped into each, which is filled by pushing a portion of the earth and ashes into it. In this state it is left until the crop reaches the height of two feet above the surface, when the ground between is hoed and cleared of weeds, and this is repeated as often as rendered necessary by the rapid growth of all kinds of weeds during the rains.

The travellers were obliged to tarry at Goodeerie until they should obtain permission from Almami to travel through his country, without which the attempt would have been madness. Almami was not then at his capital of Boolibany, and the delay which his absence was likely to produce was in the highest degree annoying to the travellers on account of the approach of the rainy season, when travelling would become almost impracticable.

During the stay at Goodeerie the travellers were beset by a multitude of beggars of all descriptions. Princes and their wives without number came to make trifling presents, with the hope of receiving double the value in return, and their attendants were no less troublesome. Goulahs, or singing men, who everywhere in Africa flock around those who have anything to give, appeared to think this a good opportunity of turning their musical abilities to good account. Dozens of them would at the same moment set up a sort of roaring extempore song in praise of the travellers, accompanied by drums and a sort of guitar; and it was found impossible to get rid of them but by giving them something. But people who live by that sort of gain, and who not unfrequently receive from their own chiefs presents to the value of several slaves, were not to be put off with trifles, particularly by persons with such riches as to them Major Gray's party appeared to possess. Hence they kept the place in a state of continual clamour and uproar; and the Major confesses that his patience was never so severely tried as on these occasions.

After staying twelve anxious days at Goodeerie, Saada, the Imaum's eldest son, arrived there to announce that his father was at a small town about five miles east, and would there receive the travellers, or, if they preferred it, would come to them: they decided to go to him. During the interview with Saada, that personage was careful to keep his mouth and nose covered with the dependent part of his turban, lest he should inhale the air respired by an infidel.

The Imaum himself was found to be a very impracticable sort of person. He alleged that all the neighbouring kings were averse to the further progress of the party to the east, and that even his own chiefs did not like it; and he therefore made the responsibility he should incur in allowing them to proceed a ground for enormous demands, which the apprehension of the approaching rains obliged Major Gray ultimately to satisfy.

Provisions were procured with great difficulty; less, apparently, from any indisposition to supply them, than from actual scarcity at a time of the year, immediately preceding the rainy season, when, almost everywhere, the products of the previous rainy season had been nearly consumed. In point of fact, the extent of forethought in such matters is no bad test of the relative advance in civilization. The Africans generally are not savages, only barbarians. They have forethought enough to cultivate the ground in order to raise sufficient produce to last them until the next harvest, but not enough to lead them to raise a surplus quantity (as they easily might) to provide against possible wants and contingencies; nor enough, so to husband what they do raise as to make it last as long as they intend and need. Hence it is that all travellers find provisions scarce and high priced towards the end of the agricultural year. In these climates and uniform seasons the entire or partial failure of a crop is of rare occurrence—so rare that no provision is ever made for such a contingency; and consequently, when it does occur, the ruin is dreadful and extensive. It might be easy from this to deduce the advan-

tage to civilization of a climate the uncertainties of which render a degree of forethought absolutely and constantly necessary.

While Major Gray was thus suffering from deficient supplies, the king one day sent a fine Moor boy, about eight years of age, a slave, that they might dispose of him in purchasing bullocks. "But," says the Major, "hungry as we were, we preferred remaining so to eating that procured at the expense of liberty to a fellow-creature, who, from his horrified appearance, no doubt thought we were going to eat him. He spoke the language well, by which means we explained to him the happy change that had taken place in his situation; but he did not appear to believe it for some days."

At length the travellers obtained permission to proceed, and advanced in the direction (north of east) of Boolibany, the capital. The country was well cultivated and thickly inhabited; much rain had already fallen, and the corn grounds were beginning to look green, and the entire face of the country, which had for some months presented a most arid and fatiguing aspect, was by this time (mid-June) assuming all the varied gaiety of spring. The natives, too, were busily employed in cultivation, which in Africa is indiscriminately carried on by men and women.

On arriving at Boolibany, a number of huts were assigned for their accommodation, to which the inhabitants, of all ages and conditions, thronged to see a white man for the first time in their lives.

"Many of the great men of the town paid us visits of ceremony and curiosity, all of which we would most willingly have dispensed with; but they were not to be sent off in a hurry, and we were often reduced to the necessity of walking out of our huts in the hope of their doing so too; but even this did not always succeed, and we were obliged to submit with a seeming good grace to their importunities for presents. I do believe they thought that asking was alone necessary to the filling of their pockets with amber, &c., and covering their backs with silks, bafts, &c.; for the procuring of all of which they seldom brought any more valuable articles than a little milk or some rice or corn. Indeed we wanted nothing else; but the miserable handfuls which they presented were scarcely worth the trouble of receiving, much less of giving more than their value in return."

The Major's description of Boolibany is so much better than any description of towns in this quarter which have come under our notice, that we shall here introduce it, with the view of furnishing the reader with a specimen of the better sort of Foulah towns.

Boolibany stands in an extensive plain at the foot of a range of rocky hills, which are distant from it about a quarter of a mile east; and to the west the dry bed of a considerable torrent winds along the plain, and, in the season of rains, conducts the water, which descends in a thousand streams from the hills, to the Falame and the Senegal.

Here is the residence, or more properly, perhaps, one of the residences, (for Footaconda was regarded by Park as the capital of Bondou,) of the King or Imaum (Almami); but, writes the Major,—

"It is by no means so large as we expected to see the capital of so thickly-inhabited a country. The number of souls does not exceed 1600 or 1800, the greater number of whom are either the relatives, slaves, tradesmen, or followers of Almami, or those of the royal family. The town is surrounded by a strong clay wall, ten feet high and eighteen inches thick; this is pierced with loopholes, and is so constructed that, at short intervals, projecting angles are thrown out, which enables the besieged to defend the front of the wall by a flanking fire, and answers all the purposes of defence where nothing but small arms is made use of. The gates, of which there are five, and some of the intermediate parts of the wall, are surmounted by small embattled turrets, nine or ten feet square; those are likewise pierced with loopholes, and give to the place a better fortified appearance than any place we had before seen. Within these outer walls, at the west end of the town, and surrounded by stronger and higher ones of the same material and form, are the palaces of Almami, his son Saada, and his nephew Moosa Yoro Malek—all joining each other, but having no internal communication. The mosque, by no means a good one, stands in an open space at the south-west end of

the town. It was in very bad repair, being nearly destitute of thatch. It is a large oblong clay [qy. mud?] building, lying east and west, the walls about nine feet high, and the roof, which is composed of rough timber, is supported in the centre by three strong forked stakes, about eighteen feet high. The ends of this roof extend five or six feet over the walls, and are there supported by forked stakes, five feet high, forming a sort of piazza. Public prayers are performed in it five times a-day, with the greatest apparent devotion. The town is divided by streets, or more properly by lanes, which are narrow, dirty, and irregular. The huts or houses are of different forms; some, entirely composed of clay or rough timber, are square and flat-roofed; others are round, having the walls of the same materials as the former, but are covered with a conical roof, formed of poles, and thatched with long dry grass; the third and last are entirely composed of wood and dry grass in the form of a half sphere. [These forms of huts are obviously characteristic of the different inhabiting people—the Jaloofs, the Foulahs, and the Serrawoollies.] The doors of all are inconveniently low, particularly the last, which is rendered the more unpleasant by its serving at the same time as door, window, and chimney. The houses of Almami, his son, nephew, and some of the princes, display the same variety of form, and, with the exception of being larger, are equally inconvenient. The interior of each of these palaces may contain about an English acre, divided by low clay walls into several small courts, in some of which are the chambers of the wives and concubines, and in others the magazines of arms, ammunition, merchandise, and corn. The exterior walls are about thirteen feet high, and are lined nearly all round inside with a range of square clay hovels, serving as cooking-places, stables, slave-rooms, and other stores, all of which have flat roofs, where, in case of attack, a number of armed men, the best marksmen, are placed, and, being thus defended by that part of the outside walls which rises above the roofs in the form of parapets, they can do much against an attacking enemy."

Major Gray's surprise at the comparative small size of Boolibany leads us to remark that there is no town in Western Africa which in point of population rises above, and not more than two or three that approach, our third-rate towns. In fact, very large towns belong to a very advanced state of civilization. A very large town implies certain facilities of production and transit which do not exist but in well-civilized communities. A large population requires more food than the immediate vicinity of the town can supply; and therefore the towns are small among barbarous nations, that the immediate neighbourhood may adequately supply all their wants.

As illustrating the condition of slaves, we may mention that the mother of the Moor boy whom the Imaum had given to Major Gray was a frequent visitor to their huts to see her son, who was by this time so convinced of his real situation that he implored the gentlemen, on his knees and with tears in his eyes, to confer the same benefit on his mother, who, together with his brother, an infant, were in the most deplorable state of slavery in the possession of the king's nephew, Moosa Yoro Malek. The poor woman herself was too much pleased with the respectable appearance of her son, and with the account he gave her of the comparative happiness of his present situation, to prevent a gleam of satisfaction from making itself evident through the otherwise truly miserable and desponding state of her feelings but too strongly depicted in her face and actions, the former being bathed in tears, and the latter more becoming of a person imploring assistance or protection from the Divine Being than from a fellow-creature.

"It is needless to say," pursues the Major, "that we promised her every exertion in her favour, but, alas! without effect:—the answer we got from her inhuman master to our offer of three times the value of a prime slave, or, indeed, any price he might demand, was, that it was much fitter for us to make him a present of the son, who would thereby be enabled to enjoy the society of his mother and brother. The poor woman was a constant visitor at our huts, where she every day got one good meal; but it would have been useless to give her anything else, as her master would not have left it, be it of never so little value, with her."

Ultimately, the further hinderances which the party experienced, at Boolibany, decided them to stay over the rainy season in Bondou; and to this end they established their quarters hard by

the small village of Samba Contaye, twenty-seven miles north of Boolibany, and fifteen miles from the Senegal. Here, around a clear spot of ground of about two acres, they erected several huts. But it was soon found that they were neither sufficiently solid to resist the violence of the tornadoes, nor well enough thatched to keep out the rain; in consequence of which the men were constantly getting wet and falling sick; and they had to experience the full force, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, of a climate which, during the rainy season, has proved so fatal to missionaries and other Europeans. Fever and dysentery were the complaints under which nearly all the Europeans of Major Gray's party laboured. It was the 17th of July when they established themselves at Samba Contaye: on the 19th one of the officers died, a soldier on the 22nd, an officer on the 9th of August, a soldier on the 19th, another on the 22nd, another on the 25th; and this out of a party greatly reduced by previous mortality, and by a detachment sent forward into Fooladoo and Manding under staff-surgeon Dorchard, and another sent back to the coast under Mr. Partarrieau.

Major Gray also suffered much in his own health. On his recovery he employed himself in learning the Foulah language, and in making frequent excursions to the neighbouring towns when the weather permitted. The defects in the huts had been as far as possible repaired; the supply of provisions soon became abundant; and, having completed a strong fence around the camp, the party was in some degree defended both from the encroachments of the wild beasts which nightly serenaded them, and the not less troublesome daily visits of the inhabitants of the town, whom, previous to the fence being made, it had been found impossible to keep out of the huts, from which, on their departure, some one thing or other was always missing.

To divert as much as possible the minds of the men from dwelling on the scenes of death around them, the Major had recourse to all kinds of employments and amusements. Hunting the game, in which the country abounded, afforded an ample range, for those who were able to partake of it, to employ their time to advantage. Wild hogs, antelopes, guinea-fowls, and partridges were constantly brought in.

"During one of these excursions we met, and succeeded in killing, a large lioness, which had for some time been disturbing the neighbourhood of the village. On this occasion we were accompanied by some of the inhabitants of Samba Contaye, one of whom gave the first wound to the animal; in consequence of which he was disarmed by his companions and led prisoner (his hands tied behind his back) to the town, at whose outer approach they were met by all the women, singing and clapping hands. The dead animal, covered with a white cloth, was carried by four men on a bier constructed for the purpose, accompanied by the rest of their party, shouting, firing shots, dancing, or rather playing all sorts of monkey tricks. As I was not a little surprised at seeing the man, whom I conceived ought to be rewarded for having at first so disabled the animal as to prevent her from attacking us, thus treated, I requested an explanation; and was informed that, being a subject only, he was guilty of a great crime in shooting a sovereign, and must suffer this punishment until released by the chiefs of the village, who, knowing the deceased to have been their enemy, would not only do so immediately, but commend the man for his good conduct. I endeavoured, to no purpose, to find the origin of this extraordinary mock ceremony, but could only gain the answer, frequently given by an African, that his forefathers had always done so! This, with a hyena, shot by a sentinel when attempting to take away one of our asses, were the only animals of the kind killed by us. In a few nights after this we were surprised by three lions, which, in despite of the strength of our fence, and of the sentinels, who fired several shots at them, forced their way into the camp, and succeeded in mangling one of our horses, which was tied to a stake within fifteen yards of our huts, in such a dreadful manner, that I thought it best, by means of a pistol-ball, to put an end to the poor animal's sufferings. These animals are very troublesome, particularly at the time of the year when the corn and grass, being nearly the height of a man, afford them means of concealing themselves near the towns, and of making nightly attacks upon the herds of black cattle and goats belonging to the natives, who keep up large fires in the folds to deter them from approaching; but in this they do not, unhappily, always succeed."

We are interested in finding, thus incidentally, that the royalty of the lion is recognised in Western Africa. We very much suspect that the curious ceremony of which Major Gray could obtain no satisfactory explanation is connected with some old practice, that in the royal huntings only the king or a prince was allowed to give the lion its death-blow.

During the residence at Samba Contaye a circumstance occurred which brings out in a very strong light the notions of this people on the subject of slavery, and the position of the slaves in Africa. We will give this in Major Gray's own words, his feeling in connection with this subject being on all occasions very proper, and his conduct calculated to do his country credit in the eyes of the natives.

"It was on the morning of the 25th (October), when, sitting outside the door of my hut, half asleep from extreme debility, I was aroused by the report of a musket within the fence of the camp, followed by the shrieks of a woman, and the bustle of my men running from all quarters, where they had been either on duty or amusing themselves, and seizing their arms. Such preparations on their part led me to suppose we had been attacked; I therefore ran to my hut for my arms, and without delay proceeded to the spot where all seemed to be directing their steps. On my arrival at the place where the market was usually held, under the shade of a large acacia, about 200 yards outside our fence, I found a woman lying dead, a musket-ball having passed through her head. She had just disposed of a little corn, and was sitting on the ground in the wood, tying up a few beads which she had received in exchange, when she received the fatal wound. On my inquiring by whom it was done, one of my own men (Shaw, a black soldier) answered from within his hut that it was his rifle which went off while he was cleaning the brasses of it. Some men of the town who were present, and armed as they always are, showed symptoms of a wish to take some steps of retaliation, under the impression, no doubt, that it had been done designedly. One or two merchants who were also present, and on whom I called to assist me in preventing unnecessary effusion of blood, persuaded them to desist, assuring them that every satisfaction should be given. My first step was to order Shaw into confinement, and send for Osman [the chief of the town] to consult what was necessary to be done. On his arrival at my hut, where the merchants were awaiting him at my request, I stated the unfortunate occurrence precisely as it had taken place, pointing out to him the position of the deceased in the market, and that of the prisoner in his hut, through the sides of which, being composed of straw, the ball had passed. The merchants fully corroborated my statement, by relating every circumstance with the most minute exactness, and gave it as their opinion that the thing occurred wholly by accident; but, as the deceased was a slave belonging to some of the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, it would be necessary to send a person to acquaint them with the affair, and despatch without delay a messenger to Almami, requesting him to have the business tried and decided on immediately. Both these injunctions I complied with at the moment, and gave the prisoner into the hands of Osman, who expressed a wish that I might keep him myself; but I preferred acting otherwise, as I was aware that the inhabitants of the country at large, and particularly those people to whom the woman belonged, would be more satisfied by his being in their own hands, at least in those of one of their chiefs. The poor fellow himself was at first much frightened, and would, I am convinced, willingly have given up his own life to restore that of the woman, had it been possible. Osman told him that, although the accident was of an extremely unpleasant nature to all concerned, and especially to him (Shaw), it was nevertheless one which so clearly evinced the hand of the Almighty God, that he had nothing to fear, as he was sure Almami would see the thing in its proper light, and judge accordingly. The following morning the men, both free and slaves, of the village to which the unfortunate woman belonged, came to our camp, to the number of sixty or seventy, all armed, and in a very haughty manner demanded justice, which one of them, an old man, who appeared to be their speaker, said was nothing more than handing over the prisoner to them, to be treated as they might think fit; as in this case the law said, 'When one slave,' in which light they looked upon all my men, both black and white, 'killed another, the survivor became the property of the person to whom the deceased belonged, who might either kill, sell, or keep him.' I had much difficulty in persuading them that all my men were as free as myself, and that I could not now take any step until I had received an answer from Almami, to whom I had sent

a messenger. Osman, who had heard of their arrival, came up at that moment, and, finding them much inclined to add violence to insolent language, ordered them, in a very peremptory tone, to return to their village, and leave the settlement of the affair exclusively to him, who alone, from its having happened in his district and with his strangers (meaning us), had the right of interfering. Although they went away immediately, I was sorry to see them do so with so much reluctance, and with such evident dissatisfaction at the unfortunate affair, as well as at the indifferent reception they met with. I therefore requested Osman to accompany them to a short distance, and endeavour to convince them that it was my wish to render every satisfaction the laws of the country demanded, and make the owner of the deceased as ample a recompense as it was in my power to do. In a few minutes the old man who acted as their speaker returned with Osman, and, coming to my hut, offered me his hand, which I accepted, and sat down, telling me that he was perfectly satisfied with my conduct in this affair, and would wait patiently and peaceably for Almami's decision; and to convince me of the truth of what he asserted, he would send the women of his village to market as usual to-morrow. The messenger to Almami did not return before the evening of the 28th, when he was accompanied by one of his ministers, a chief priest, or, as they call it, *Alpha* or *Thierno*, bringing his sovereign's decision, which, although conveyed in many more words than necessary, merely went to say, as it appeared to Almami and his good men, as they call his chiefs and ministers (a very ill-placed appellation), that the woman came by her death accidentally, I had nothing more to do than procure a slave-woman of as nearly the same age as the deceased as possible, and hand her over to Osman. Almami also desired Alpha Mamado to say that he was extremely sorry I should have thought it necessary to put my child, meaning Shaw (for so he always called all my men), in prison, from whence he now desired him to be released. I represented to the Alpha the dislike I had to anything like purchasing a fellow-creature, and requested that I might be allowed to give the value of a prime slave. In this, he said, he could not interfere; that which he had told me was by order of Almami, and he could not alter it; but should the man to whom the slave belonged wish to take the value in merchandise, he was certain Almami could have no objection. Much entreaty on my part, added to the promise of a present, would, no doubt, have had the desired effect, were it not that the owner of the deceased was afraid, in case he had accepted of merchandise, that Almami would persuade, nay, force him, to give it to him in purchase of a slave, which, most probably, he would never receive. I was therefore reduced to the disagreeable necessity of employing a person for the sole purpose of going round the country in search of a woman-slave, and which he with much difficulty procured, not in consequence of the scarcity of those poor wretches in the country, but of the enormous price demanded, arising, no doubt, from their knowledge of the obligation I was under of providing one without delay. This transaction I could not bring myself to negotiate, as the idea alone of dealing in human flesh was more than sufficiently disagreeable to allow me to see the poor wretch, who, although only changing masters, and, from what I could learn, getting a good for a bad one, was nevertheless a slave, bought and sold. Osman, who had no scruples of that kind, very willingly undertook to do it for me, and I have no doubt made something by it. Thus terminated our unfortunate affair, which, although wholly providential, was certainly of such an unpleasant nature as to cause deep regret to all our party; *but which did not appear to make more impression upon the minds of the natives than if the deceased had been a bullock, so little is the life of a slave noticed in that country!*"

Soon after this the party was much cheered by the arrival at Galam, on the Senegal, of the French trading fleet from St. Louis, under the command of an officer with whom Major Gray had the pleasure of having been previously acquainted, and who had it in command from the governor at St. Louis to afford our party all the assistance in his power. This he very cordially did; and an intercourse—checked only by the distance of the English station from the river—was established and continued, with a degree of good feeling highly becoming in officers of two civilized and neighbouring nations, which had very lately been at war with each other.

The Imaum of Bondou solicited the company of the Major in a visit he proposed making to

the French. An important conversation took place on the road, which we find thus reported:—"During the ride we had much conversation on the subject of the arrival of the French at Galam, and, in a report which he said he had received by letter from Senegal, as to the intentions not only of their expedition, but of mine, both of which had been stated to him to be fitted out for the purpose of affording assistance to their enemies, the Kaartans. I endeavoured to assure him that, although Europeans in general regretted to see so much warfare going on in Africa, it was, nevertheless, very immaterial to them whether the one or other were victorious; and that the only object the King of England (for whom I could vouch) had in view was the civilization of Africa, and the introduction of commerce on a more liberal scale than at present existed. He, however, insinuated that he believed all Europeans to be more the friends of the Pagan than the Moslem inhabitants of Africa, in consequence of the more ready conversion of the former to Christianity; and, without taking into consideration the difference between the two nations, he adverted to an engagement which he said he knew had been entered into between the commandant of Senegal, when that place was in possession of the French several years before, and Daisey, the King of Kaarta, who had sworn an inviolable oath that neither himself nor his successors would ever give peace to the countries lying between them and St. Louis until a woman with a basket on her head could travel unmolested from one place to the other. It was to no purpose I endeavoured to convince him that so improbable an arrangement had never been entered into between any European governor of Senegal and his enemies; and I likewise as ineffectually brought forward, to support my assertion, the friendly intercourse which had so long subsisted between the English governors of Senegal and himself, and the very handsome and rich presents he, as well as his predecessors, had received from them and the vessels trading in the river. To all this he only answered in a general way, and finishing with the usual African expression of 'All is in the hands of God!'"

We shall find a suitable opportunity of adverting to the alleged comparative difficulty of obtaining access to the Mohammedan mind for the blessed truths of the Gospel. That there is such difficulty is a fact dwelt upon by many missionaries and travellers; and in the investigation of it many points of most interesting inquiry are involved.

On his return from the river the Major called to see the Imaum, who had been obliged by extreme illness to halt at the village Guinion, without executing his intended visit to the French. The traveller found him exceedingly ill, lying on a mat in the centre of a small hut, surrounded by three or four of his favourites, who were all conscious of his approaching end, and were endeavouring to get from him all they could before his demise. "Soon after my entering the hut," writes the Major, "he ordered them all to leave him, as he had something particular to say to me. When they had gone out, he called me to his bedside, by no means an agreeable situation, and, placing his mouth to my ear, said, 'They are all rogues; I did not know it before. I see I must soon die; but when I am gone, many who now fear me will then wish me back to no purpose!' He then asked me what I thought of the French, my new friends, as he called them; and, on receiving a favourable report, expressed his astonishment that people who were so lately at war with each other could so soon be good friends."

The death of this sovereign, which took place on the 8th January, 1819, occasioned a somewhat instructive exhibition of the operation of the principles of succession which prevail in this and most other African states.

In barbarous or semi-civilised states, so much generally depends upon the personal qualities of the sovereign, that the succession of a minor or of a young person would not be endured, nor would a regency be often able to maintain authority or secure respect. Hence, in such nations, regents and sovereigns under age are unknown things; nor is a king often a young man. These contingencies would necessarily occur, were the crown entailed in strict hereditary succession, from father to son, as in Europe; and to avoid them, the crown generally devolves on the eldest branch of the royal family,—that is to say, to the eldest surviving brother or cousin of the late king; and, failing them, to the eldest among his sons and nephews. This is a good law for the state of society in which it was framed, as it secures to the throne a man of experience and known character; but it is attended with the disadvantage of more frequent

disputes and contests, often bloody, for the crown, than would occur under a more defined course of succession. Changes are also more frequent, as the kings are commonly advanced in life before they attain to the throne.

Now, when Almami Amadi died, the succession was disputed by three persons: one, Malek Samba Tomani, his own cousin, being the lawful heir, and two of his nephews, Tomani Moodi and Moosa Yoro, all men advanced in years, and each possessed of much influence in the country. Moosa Yoro was, however, at first unwilling to oppose the right heir, as much from respect to that personage, who was much older than himself, as from distrust of his own popularity; but he was driven into it by Tomani Moodi, who offered him his support, and threatened to commence a civil war on his own account if the other declined. The reason of the violent course taken by Moodi was, that in former times he had caused the brother of Malek Samba to be murdered, and he feared that this would be vengefully remembered against him by that personage if he became king; whereas by expelling or destroying him he should at once rule, in the name of Moosa Yoro, the country over which he might ultimately expect to reign in his own.

It seems that a sort of recognition by the people, which might be mistaken for an election, is necessary to the assumption of power by the new king. This, in the instance before us, took place on the 20th; when, although the opposing parties were nearly coming to blows, the whole affair was terminated in a more peaceable manner than usually happens in Africa, where the interregnum is almost always taken advantage of by the evil-disposed to commit all manner of crimes, and for which they cannot be punished, as during that period the laws are not in force in consequence of the non-existence of a king, with whom they also are considered defunct. This absence of a power necessary to enforce obedience to the law, during the interval between the death of one king and the succession of another, which so open a mode of succession renders necessary, seems alone sufficient to counterbalance whatever theoretical advantages may appear in this form of succession.

With a carelessness not by any means uncommon in his otherwise valuable book of travels, Major Gray omits to say which of the competitors was in this case inaugurated; but, from some indications, we can collect with tolerable certainty that it was the rightful heir, Malek Samba Tomani. A few days after his accession, the Major paid the new Imaum a congratulatory visit, accompanied as usual by a present. He was received with marked attention and hospitality by that sovereign, who told him that he might depend on everything being done to forward his views, to which he was himself bound by a request to that effect, which the late Imaum had made shortly before his death.

It is observable that Saada, the son of the late king, is not even named as a possible competitor for the crown,—that would have been deemed the height of absurdity, while the sons of kings who had reigned before his father still lived. As, however, he inherited the private estates of his father, as well as the treasure which he had acquired while on the throne, the ministers of the late king attached themselves to him, in the hope, no doubt, of extracting as much as possible of this treasure from him. There was a dispute between Saada and the new Imaum about the division of the slaves, the former being unwilling to make over to the latter the proportion of them which his late father had directed. The chief slaves, too, like the ministers, preferred, for the same reasons, to remain with Saada, and consequently advised him not to submit to Almami's demand. The time was, however, not far distant when both ministers and slaves, being disappointed in their expectations from Saada, left him, and attached themselves to Almami, who, glad of the opportunity of enrolling such powerful personages in his cause, received them in a manner calculated to bind them, for a time at least, to his interests. Matters of this sort are not managed very differently in Europe.

A little time sufficed to evince the cupidity of the new Imaum, and how small was the reliance which could be placed upon his friendship. A long statement, which we need not follow, is occupied in Major Gray's narrative with an account of the hostile measures to which the king ultimately resorted, and his undisguised opposition to the prosecution of his journey in the direction he designed. It was not without much difficulty that the party was at last enabled to quit the

country, after having been detained in it above a year—being much longer than any Europeans had ever before remained in Bondou.

Mungo Park, Mollien, and Major Gray severally furnish accounts of this kingdom, drawn up from the observations made during their stay in it. We find it expedient to combine in one statement the information they supply.

Bondou, which is chiefly situated between 13° and 15° latitude north and 10° and 12° longitude west, is bounded on the north by the kingdom of Kajaga (Galam), on the south by Tenda and Dentilla, on the east by the Faleme, Bambouk, and Logo, and on the west by Foota-toro, the Simbani Wilderness, and Woolli. The whole face of the country is in general mountainous, but particularly in the northern and eastern parts. Those mountains, which are chiefly composed of rock, are small, and for the most part thinly covered with low stunted wood, little of it fit for any other use than that of fuel.

The valleys, wherein are situated the towns and villages, are for the most part cleared for the purpose of cultivation, to which the soil, being a light sand, mixed with brown vegetable mould, seems well adapted. Innumerable beds of torrents intersect these valleys in all directions, and serve during the rains to conduct the water collected by the high grounds to the Faleme and Senegal. They are quite dry, except in the rainy season. Great numbers of tamarinds, boababs, rhamnus-lotus, calabash, and other fruit-trees, are beautifully scattered over these valleys, which are rendered still more picturesque by the frequent appearance of a village or walled town, in whose vicinity are always a number of cotton and indigo plantations.

The proportion of land cultivated is small, but sufficient to supply the inhabitants abundantly with all the products of the country; which are corn in four varieties, together with rice, pompions, water-melons, gourds, sorrel, onions, tobacco, red pepper, pistachios, cotton, and indigo. The tobacco, called by the natives *tankoro*, is abundantly cultivated on the fertile banks of the Faleme; its quality is excellent, and it is rather intoxicating to those who are not used to it. To take it as snuff, the people make use of a little iron spoon.

This statement applies chiefly to the six months in which rain falls; for then only, from the extreme drought and heat, is the ground cultivable; and as the dry season advances, even the trees generally lose their foliage—the extreme heat of that season having, in this, the same effect as the extreme cold of winter in our northern latitudes. A tree called *bani* is said by Mollien to be the only exception to this rule. The same statement will equally apply to most parts of this quarter of Africa, except on the immediate banks of the rivers.

The Gambia forms the southern boundary of Bondou. Before reaching that river the traveller passes through thick jungles which abound in elephants. This animal is found near all

[African Elephant.]

the rivers of Western Africa, from Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope. It differs in some respects from the elephant of Asia. It is smaller. The head is rounded, and the front convex instead of concave: the ears are much larger, and the general number of nails on each hind foot is only three instead of four. The teeth form an important article of the African trade with Europeans. To procure it, the elephant is generally taken in pitfalls; but means and opportunities are often taken to destroy it with fire-arms. We are told that, although the flesh looks coarse, it is better flavoured than the beef of the country, and that it is relished and eaten by the inhabitants of many districts. The foot is considered the most delicate part, although the Romans, who were good judges of eating, preferred the trunk. The natural habits of the African elephant differ little from those of the Asiatic species. It is considered more ferocious, perhaps unjustly. The natives however consider it untameable, nor is it now tamed in any part of this great continent, although there is good reason to suppose that the ancient Carthaginians found as much use in its services as the Orientals derive from their species. When Park talked to the natives of the docility of the elephant, and of the manner in which its powers and faculties were, in the East, applied to the service of man, they laughed him to scorn, exclaiming, *Tobaubo fonnio!* "A white man's lie!"

The same traveller informs us that nothing creates greater surprise among the negroes along the coast, than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth—it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what use they are applied. Although they are shown knives with ivory hafts, combs and toys of the same material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured was originally part of a tooth, they are not satisfied. They suspect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe to purposes of far greater importance, the true nature of which is studiously concealed from them, lest the price of ivory should be enhanced. They cannot, they say, easily persuade themselves that ships would be built and voyages undertaken to procure an article which has no other value than that of furnishing handles to knives, &c., when pieces of wood would serve the purpose equally well.

The western part of Bondou contains iron-mines; and in the east there is gold. Five miles west of Boolibany there is a range of small hills, covered with stunted underwood, and composed of a dark-brown stone, resembling volcanic eruption, and having a strong magnetic attraction. From these hills the natives obtain large quantities of iron, which they esteem much for its goodness.

From the central situation of Bondou, between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, it is become a place of great resort; both for the slatees (free negro merchants), who generally pass through it in going from the coast to the interior countries, and for occasional traders, who frequently come hither from the inland countries to purchase salt. These different branches of commerce are conducted chiefly by Mandingoes and Serawoollies who have settled in the country. These merchants also carry on a considerable trade with Gedumah and other Moorish countries, bartering corn and blue cotton cloths for salt, which they again barter in Dentilla and other districts for iron, shoe-leather, and small quantities of gold-dust. They likewise sell a variety of sweet-smelling gums, packed up in small bags, containing each about a pound. These gums, being thrown on hot embers, produce a very pleasant odour, and are used by the Mandingoes in perfuming their huts and clothes.

This is Park's account. Major Grant, in his later time, states that the commerce in which most of the people are engaged consists of the exchange of the cotton cloths manufactured in the country, and of its natural productions, for ivory, gold, and slaves, brought to them by the people of Bambouk, Kasson, and Foota-jallon; and for European merchandise, such as fire-arms; gunpowder, India goods, hardware, amber, coral, and glass beads, with which they are supplied by the merchants of the Gambia and Senegal.

The manufactures, although few, are well calculated to supply the natives with clothing and the different articles of household furniture which they require, together with implements of husbandry, carpenters', blacksmiths', and leather-workers' tools and knives, spear and arrow-heads, bridle-bits, stirrups, and a variety of small articles, such as pickers, tweezers, turn-screws, &c.; all which, taking into consideration the very rough materials and tools employed,

are finished in a manner which evinces much taste and ingenuity on the part of the workmen, who, in all cases, work sitting on the ground cross-legged. Major Gray says — "The people of these several trades are by far the most respectable of the class which I have met with in Africa; so much so, that the ministers, favourites, and officers are chiefly chosen from among them; but this I believe arises in part from their being more finished courtiers and flatterers than are to be met with among other classes of the people."

The industry of the Foulahs generally in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is everywhere remarkable: even on the banks of the Gambia the greater part of the corn is raised by them, and their herds and flocks are more numerous, and in better condition, than those of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou they have attained a considerable measure of opulence, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in great profusion. They display great skill in the management of cattle, making them extremely gentle by familiarity and kindness. On the approach of night they are collected from the woods and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each *korree* is erected a small hut, wherein one or two of the husbandmen keep watch during the night, to prevent the cattle from being stolen, and to keep up the fires which are kindled around the *korree* to frighten away the wild beasts.

The cattle are milked in the morning and evening; the milk is excellent, but the quantity obtained from any one cow is by no means so great as in Europe, and is only supplied while the cow suckles her calf. The Foulahs use the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that not until it is quite sour. The cream which it affords is very thick, and is converted into butter by stirring it violently in a large calabash. This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preserved in small earthen pots, and forms a part of most of their dishes; it serves likewise to anoint their heads, and is bestowed very liberally on their faces and arms.

But although milk is plentiful among the Foulahs, it is somewhat remarkable that they, and all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese. A firm attachment to the customs of their ancestors makes them view with an eye of prejudice everything that looks like innovation. The heat of the climate, and the great scarcity of salt, are held forth as unanswerable objections; and the whole process is deemed to be too long and troublesome to be attended with any solid advantage.

Besides the cattle which constitute the chief wealth of the Foulah nation, they possess some excellent horses, the breed of which seems to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

As we have seen, the government of Bondou is monarchical, the whole authority being vested in the hands of the Imaum (Almami) or king. He is however, in most cases, guided by the laws of Mohammed, which are interpreted by the imaums, or chief priests, who, being much in his power, and from example and habit of a crouching, mean disposition, seldom fail to decide in their sovereign's favour, whenever his interest appears concerned.

The revenues, which are solely at the king's disposal, are considerable, and consist of the tenth of all agricultural produce, and a custom or duty paid by all the travelling merchants who pass through this country. The latter amounts to seven bottles of gunpowder and one trade musket, or their value in other articles, upon every ass-load of European goods; and must be accompanied by a present to the king and his head men. A refusal on the part of any of these merchants to comply with the exorbitant demands of these people would inevitably lead to their being plundered, and possibly to their personal ill-treatment. This, however, seldom takes place, as the merchants always endeavour, in some way or other, to conceal the most valuable part of their goods, either about their persons or in the house of their host (whom it is also necessary to bribe), before they intrust the remainder to the inspection of the persons appointed by the king for that purpose. He also derives considerable emolument from a tenth of the salt imported from the coast by the natives of the country, and from an annual custom or tribute paid him by the French Senegal Company's vessels trading in the river, and from the establishment of the same nation at Baquelle. The peace-offerings and

presents from all those who have any business to transact with the king, or favour to ask from him, although not limited to any particular amount, do not compose the least valuable part of his income: slaves, horses, cattle, poultry, rice, corn, cotton, cloths, gold, and indeed all the productions of the country, are incessantly presented as douceurs to him.

The chief men and the great majority of the people are Moslems. Until the time of our former acquaintance Almami Amadi, the king was a Pagan, notwithstanding his Moslem title and forms of law; but that personage was induced to adopt Islam from no purer motive than self-interest, which made it important to conciliate the people of Foota-toro and Foota-jallon, who were much less tolerant of a Pagan prince than were his own subjects. "In the exercise of their faith," says Park, "they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them; nor is it necessary, for the system of Mohammed is made to extend itself by means infinitely more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the Pagan as well as Mohammedan children are taught to read the Koran and instructed in the tenets of the Prophet, the Mohammedan priests fix a bias in the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever after remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished that they had better instructors and a purer religion."

The fact is, that whatever fills an otherwise vacant mind, cannot but exert an influence upon the sentiments and character. In the education received in these schools there is more show than reality of benefit. As in most of the common schools of Moslem countries, the education is purely and exclusively religious, consisting solely in being taught the principles and practices of Islam, and in reading and writing Arabic (the original language of the Koran), although the language itself is not taught. Arabic, nowhere in Western Africa a native language, was, in fact, the only written language of that part of the world, before the recent reduction of some of the native languages to a written form by the missionaries. Numbers and their uses are unknown: they can scarcely add two simple numbers together without having recourse to the usual African methods, namely, counting the fingers, or making strokes in the sand. The student or scholar is, in all cases, the servant of his teacher, who may employ him in any menial capacity whatever. In fact, the master is paid for his instructions by the services of his scholars. They go about, when not at their lessons, begging, and sewing the country cloths together, for any who may want to employ them. The produce of their occupation is brought to the master, who is always a priest, and is appropriated to his use.

Having got so far into this matter, we may as well, once for all, introduce the very excellent account of this system of education—the only native system in Africa—which Mungo Park has given. The particular details refer to a school at Kamalia, but the more general matter is equally applicable to the schools of all the Moslem Africans:—

"The schoolmaster to whom I was intrusted was a man of a mild disposition and gentle manners; his name was Fankooma, and although he himself adhered strictly to the religion of Mohammed, he was by no means intolerant in his principles towards others who differed from him. He spent much of his time in reading, and teaching appeared to be his pleasure as well as employment. His school consisted of seventeen boys, most of whom were sons of kafirs (Pagans), and two girls, one of whom was Karfa's own daughter. The girls received their instructions in the day-time, but the boys always had their lessons by the light of a large fire before day-break, and again late in the evening; for, being considered, during their scholarship, as the domestic slaves of the master, they were employed in planting corn, bringing firewood, and in other servile offices, through the day.

"Exclusive of the Koran, and a book or two of commentaries thereon, the schoolmaster possessed a variety of manuscripts, which had partly been purchased from the trading Moors, and partly borrowed from Bushreens (Moslem negroes) in the neighbourhood, and copied with great care. Other manuscripts had been produced to me at different places in the course of my journey; and on recounting those I had before seen, and those which were now shown to me, and in-

terrogating the schoolmaster on the subject, I discovered that the negroes are in possession (among others) of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which they call *Taureta la Moosa*. This is so highly esteemed that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David (*Zabora Dawidi*); and lastly, the book of Isaiah, which they call *Lingeeli la Isa*, and it is in very high esteem. I suspect, indeed, that in all these copies there are interpolations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mohammed, for I could distinguish in many passages the name of the Prophet. It is possible, however, that this circumstance might otherwise have been accounted for, if my knowledge of the Arabic had been more extensive. By means of those books many of the converted negroes have acquired an acquaintance with some of the remarkable events recorded in the Old Testament. The account of our first parents, the death of Abel, the deluge, the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the story of Joseph and his brethren, the history of Moses, David, Solomon, &c.—all these have been related to me, in the Mandingo language, with tolerable exactness by different people, and my surprise was not greater on hearing these accounts from the lips of the negroes, than theirs on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for, although the negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mohammedan converts among them think but very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice, always performing their own devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the negroes in a friendly and instructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not so much the subject of wonder as matter of regret to observe, that, while the superstition of Mohammed has in this manner scattered a few faint beams of learning among these poor people, the precious light of Christianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament that, although the coast of Africa has now been known and frequented by the Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the negroes still remain entire strangers to the doctrines of our holy religion. We are anxious to draw from obscurity the opinions and records of antiquity, the beauties of Arabian and Asiatic literature, &c.; but while our libraries are thus stored with the learning of various countries, we distribute with a parsimonious hand the blessings of religious truth to the benighted nations of the earth. The natives of Asia derive but little advantage in this respect from an intercourse with us; and even the poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardson's Arabic Grammar to some slatees on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should understand and write the sacred language of their religion. At first, they suspected that it might have been written by some of the slaves carried from the coast; but, on a closer examination, they were satisfied that no bushreen could write such beautiful Arabic, and one of them offered to give me an ass and sixteen bars of goods if I would part with the book. Perhaps a short and easy introduction to Christianity, such as is found in some of the catechisms for children, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed on different parts of the coast, might have a wonderful effect. The expense would be but trifling; curiosity would induce many to read it; and the evident superiority which it would possess over their present manuscripts, both in point of elegance and cheapness, might at last obtain it a place among the school-books of Africa.

"The reflections which I have thus ventured to submit to my readers on this important subject naturally suggested themselves to my mind on perceiving the encouragement which was thus given to learning (such as it is) in many parts of Africa. I have observed that the pupils at Kamalia were most of them the children of Pagans—their parents therefore could have had no predilection for the doctrines of Mohammed. Their aim was their children's improvement; and if a more enlightened system had presented itself, it would probably have been preferred. The children, too, wanted not a spirit of emulation, which it is the aim of the tutor to encourage. When any one of them has read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feast is prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination, or (in European terms) *takes out his degree*. I attended at three different inaugurations of this sort, and heard with pleasure the distinct and intelligent answers which the

scholars frequently gave to the bushreens, who assembled on those occasions and acted as examiners. When the bushreens had satisfied themselves respecting the learning and abilities of the scholar, the last page of the Koran was put into his hand, and he was desired to read it aloud: after the boy had finished this lesson, he pressed the paper against his forehead, and pronounced the word *Amen*, upon which all the bushreens rose, and, shaking him cordially by the hand, bestowed upon him the title of bushreen.

"When a scholar has undergone this examination, his parents are informed that he has completed his education, and that it is incumbent on them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave, in exchange, which is always done if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the schoolmaster until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself."

There is much cause to thank God that something of what Park wished to see, has since his time been done. One reflection obviously suggests itself, that Pagans can scarcely have more predilection for Islam than for Christianity; and being yet willing, for the sake of their children's improvement in matters of but little practical use, to send them to Mohammedan schools, and even let them for a time become domestic slaves to Mohammedan masters, how much more are they likely to be sensible of the value of a common secular education, even although connected with religious instruction, which they as yet know not how to value! The spread of Islam has been by these means so rapid, that it seems likely ere long to supersede Paganism throughout Western Africa, unless the missionaries are enabled, through the Divine blessing, to claim for Christianity a portion of the conquest. Now, although *in itself* no one could regret the prevalence of Islam over the debasing and brutal practices of idolatry, yet, viewed *with reference to the progress of Christianity*, these quiet but large victories of Mohammedanism are most injurious and alarming. It were idle to deny that in that system, as compared with any Pagan system, there is much that is admirable and excellent; and that its influence is to a certain extent humanizing. The evil is, that it has a certain extent. It has no element of progress beyond a certain point—and that point a low one indeed, measured by the Christian standard. It first fills, and then carefully locks up, the empty mind into which it enters; and to that mind there is no further access, for two reasons,—because it is already filled, and because it is locked. It is *filled* by a system which does offer something on which the tired spirit may rest; for (apart from its original pretensions to a Divine origin) it contains much that is good —culled from patriarchal, and Jewish, and Christian truth: and it is locked up, *expressly and purposely against the entrance of Christianity*, not only by the form of the common and frequent confession of faith, but by the belief that Islam *is*, in fact, true and primitive Christianity as really taught by Christ and his Apostles,—reformed by Mohammed, with equal authority, from the corruptions which had by his time been introduced. Even an appeal to the Scriptures, as the ultimate judge of controversy, is precluded by the sincere belief of every Moslem that both the Jewish and Christian "books," the *original* authority of which is freely admitted, have been corrupted throughout, so as to be no longer worthy of credit on any point on which they in the least disagree with their own uncorrupted Koran. None but a missionary can know how inaccessible the Moslem mind is thus rendered—how peculiarly that mind is, as to all points of difference, in a fixed and final state—and how strong is the practical resistance of that mighty barrier which has been *designedly* raised up against the admission of Christian truth. Hence it is only in a few isolated instances that missions to the Moslems have been attended with success. Such missions we should be sorry to discourage altogether. That "power which melts the rock" is not limited by any barrier; and before it even this "great mountain may become a plain:" and there are Moslem communities in which the bulk of the people are so lightly grounded in their professed system, that, speaking even with reference to ordinary probabilities, it is not hopeless that some impression might be made upon them. But, seeing that, as a system, Mohammedanism has formally and studiously rejected "the testimony of God," it seems clear to us that it is our first and permanent duty to "turn unto the heathen," not only to deliver them from their own barbarities and superstitions, but, by pre-occupying their minds with "a better hope," prevent the contingency, which is in some places very imminent, of their being shut up in the prison-house of Mohammedanism.

The importance of the subject—on which most of our readers would probably desire to be in possession of our sentiments—will excuse this slight digression; returning from which, we resume the description of the Foulahs of Bondou.

With the Mohammedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance. The native tongue abounds in liquids; but there is something unpleasant in the pronunciation. A stranger, on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would conclude that they were scolding each other. Park gives their words for numbers as a specimen of the language:—

One	Go	Six	Je-go
Two	Deeddee	Seven	Je-deeddee
Three.	Teettee	Eight	Je-teettee
Four	Nee	Nine	Jee-Nee
Five	Jouee	Ten	Sappo;

which fully bears out Major Gray's remark as to their imperfect numeration; for it is clear that the units do not exceed five.

The people of Bondou are a mixture of Foulahs, Jaloofs, Mandingoes, and Serawoollies, retaining, however, more of the manners and customs of the first, and speaking their language exclusively. As in other Foulah nations, they are of the middle size, well made, and very active, their skin of a light copper colour, and their features of a form approaching nearer to those of Europe than any of the other tribes of Western Africa, the Moors excepted. The hair, too, is not so short or woolly as that of the black; and, with the advantage of being larger and rounder, their eyes are of a better colour and more expressive. The chief difference among the various Foulah nations is that, the further we withdraw southward from the Senegal, the more the proper Foulah characteristics and complexion become gradually approximated to those of the negro. Mollien affirms that a large proportion of deformed persons are found in Bondou, but that cutaneous disorders are rare. They consider all the negro nations as their inferiors, and, when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people.

Park describes the Foulahs of Bondou as of a mild and gentle disposition, adding, however, that "the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have made them less hospitable to strangers and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes." Mollien agrees in this estimate, without making the exception. He contrasts their behaviour strongly with the churlish treatment he received from the people of Foota-toro. "Much as I had reason to complain of the inhabitants of Foota-toro, so much I am bound to acknowledge the kindness of those of Bondou. It is the highest compliment I can pay them. They are mild, peaceable, possessed of great presence of mind, receiving the stranger with affability, and never troubling him with any impertinent curiosity." Major Gray, who might be expected to know this people better than either Park or Mollien, says little of their character; but we can collect that his impression was less favourable; and in one place he does say—"I have never seen a people who have more of the outward show of religion with less of its inward influence."

We are assured by the same authority that the women of Bondou—whose forms may, without the assistance of art, vie with those which are considered the finest in Europe—are of a more lively disposition and of a more delicate form of countenance than is to be found among the Jaloofs, Mandingoes, or Serawoollies. They are extremely neat in their persons and dress, and are very fond of amber, coral, and glass beads of different colours, with which they bedeck their heads, necks, wrists, and ankles profusely. Gold and silver, too, are often formed into small buttons, which are intermixed with the former on the head, and into rings and chains worn on the wrists and ankles. They always wear a veil thrown loosely over the head; this is manufactured by themselves from cotton, and is an intended, and not by any means a bad, imitation of thin muslin. The other parts of their dress are the same as those used by the women of Foota-toro, Galam, and other neighbouring countries; and, with a few exceptions of silk and printed cotton, which they obtain from the coast, are entirely of their own manufacture.

They are extremely fond of all kinds of perfumes, particularly musk, attar of roses, or

lavender; but they can seldom procure these, and therefore substitute cloves, which they pound into powder and mix up with a kernel having something of the flavour of a Tonquin bean, which they likewise reduce to powder, and, with a little gum-water, form into beads about the size of a pea. These they string and hang around the neck. Sometimes the cloves themselves are strung and worn in the same manner; but the way which they prefer to wear them is sewed up in small bags made of rich coloured silk, a number of which are worn around the neck.

The hair, which is neatly braided in a profusion of small plaits, hangs down nearly to the shoulders, and is confined, together with the strings of amber, coral, and glass beads, which decorate it, around the forehead, by a few strings of small beads by the young girls, and by those who are married with a narrow slip of silk or fine cotton cloth, twisted into a string about as thick as a finger. To complete their dress, a pair of large gold earrings dangle almost to their shoulders, and would rend the ears by their weight were they not supported by a little strap of red leather, which is fastened to one earring by a button, and passes over the top of the head to the other. The walk of the Bondou ladies is peculiarly majestic and graceful, and their whole appearance, although strange to a European, is far from being inelegant.

The dress of the men in this and other kingdoms, and indeed of the Moslem negroes generally, is more decent and becoming than that of the Pagans. It consists of a large flowing robe, generally of white cotton, somewhat resembling a surplice, but sometimes composed of a blue kind of cotton, called "baft," imported from Europe. With this are worn very wide drawers, reaching a little below the knee; and, as a bit of finery, a piece of red cloth is frequently patched upon them behind, in the bend of the knee. The legs are always bare, but the feet are protected by sandals. They cover the head either with coarse red worsted caps, such as are sometimes worn by labourers in England, or they wear caps of blue or red cloth. Some of the Foulahs roll a cotton cloth around the bottom of the cap, in which form it resembles a turban, and is very becoming—adding much to the dignity of the wearer's appearance. It is amusing to observe with what an air of conscious superiority and stateliness of gait a person shows himself in this dress, when surrounded by those who are more meanly attired. In Bondou blue and white are the favourite colours with the rich; the home manufactures are replaced with Indian bafts and muslins, both of which are neatly embroidered with different-coloured silks or worsteds round the neck and down the back and chest. The cap, which is always white, is of very graceful form, and is also embroidered, but with white only. The Marabouts, and men advanced in years, wear white turbans with red or blue crowns, occasionally a hat, made of a sort of rush or grass, having a low conical crown, with a broad rim. When on horseback, or going to war, the large sleeves of their gowns are tied together behind the back, being brought over the shoulders; and the bodies, which would be otherwise extremely inconvenient from being very loose, are secured around the middle by a girdle, which at the same time confines the powder-horn and ball-bag on the right side, and their greegree (or amulet) case on the left. These are all suspended by strong cords of red, yellow, or green silk worsted, and are crossed in the same manner as the belts of our soldiers. A dirk, about nine inches or a foot long, hangs from the running string or strap, which at the same time serves to tighten the loose drawers above the hips. A single or double barrelled gun completes their equipment in general; some of their princes or chiefs, however, add a sword, confined at the right side by their girdle, and one or two pistols, which hang dangling in their leathern holster, variously coloured, at the pommel or front horn of the saddle. One leathern bag to contain water, and another a small store of dried kous-kous, for their own provision, and a fetter of the same material for their horse, make up the catalogue of their marching baggage, and are all fastened by leathern straps to the back part of the saddle, which is at best but a bad one, being chiefly composed of pieces of wood, tied together by thongs of raw cow-hide, and which, when wet, stretches so as to allow the wood to come in contact with the horse's back, and often to wound it very badly.

From all the information which Major Gray could collect in 1818, it does not appear that the disposable force of the king of Bondou exceeded from 500 to 600 horse, and from 2000 to 3000 foot.

When the Imaum finds it necessary to call this force to the field, he repairs with some of his own immediate followers to some village at a short distance from the capital, and there beats the war-drum,* which is repeated by each village, and in this manner the call to arms is

[Bondou War-Drum.]

circulated over the country. The chief of each town or village assembles his followers (or division, as it may be called) with the least possible delay, and proceeds to head-quarters, where these chiefs consult with the king on the plan of attack or defence. No regular division of the army takes place, nor is any provision made for its support or equipment, but each man provides for himself such means of support, arms, and ammunition, as he can afford; and so badly are they furnished with the two latter, that a great many have no other weapons than a knife and a bludgeon of hard wood. On some occasions a favoured few receive two or three charges of powder and ball, with a couple of flints; and in some very solitary instances indeed, the king manifests his royal favour by bestowing a horse upon one and a gun upon another. Provisions they find as they can; and woe to the stores and the cattle of the town in which they for any time remain. Whenever the object of the campaign is not decided upon in a few days, the least effective persons disappear, and may be said, in most cases, to reduce the army one-third; and even then, many might be found who remain with no other object in view than that of begging from the Imaum; among these are the priests and the goulahs, or singing-men.

When the king decides on sending a part only of the army to plunder the frontier towns of some neighbouring state, a chief to command, or rather to conduct the party, is chosen by the king from among his own relatives and favourites; and few, if any, but the immediate followers of the king and the chief in command, go with it. The destination of the force is known only to the king, his ministers, and the commander, who seldom imparts it to his attendants until close to the scene of action. The general object of these detachments was, and to some extent still is, the attack on some small town or village, the inhabitants of which, together with the cattle, were carried off. Sometimes, however, information of the contemplated attack reaches the village in sufficient time to allow the women and children to withdraw into the interior, taking with them the cattle, and leaving the men to oppose the enemy, who, in such cases, not unfrequently come off with the loss of one or more of their party and the failure of the enterprise.

Several of these parties were sent out during Major Gray's stay in Bondou, and, with one or

* The war-drum is composed of a large wooden bowl, nearly three feet in diameter, covered with three skins, one of which is said to be that of a human being, another a hyæna's, and the third, or outside one, a monkey's: this latter is covered with Arabic characters and passages from the Koran.

two exceptions, came off victorious, if such a word can with propriety be used in describing the exploits of a band of plunderers, whose chief object was invariably the obtaining of slaves, for which a market was always found, either with the travelling merchants of the country, or the Senegal vessels at Galam. Our more recent information, however, leads to the conclusion that, with the increased discouragement of the slave-trade in this quarter, through the operations of the English, there has been a proportionate decrease, if not an entire discontinuance, of the border forays by which that trade obtained its victims.

"Woolli, Teemboo (Foota-jallon), Dentilla, and Bambouk," writes the Major, "are the frequent scenes of these unnatural depredations, and in their turn often furnish Almami with ample means of procuring supplies of arms, ammunition, horses, and the different articles of European merchandise in demand in his dominions. To the frequency of these predatory incursions, and the insecure condition of the lives and properties of the inhabitants in consequence, may be attributed in a great degree the desertion of many of the frontier towns in these states, and their subsequent occupation by the Bondou people, who of late years have extended their dominions considerably in those directions. Bondou in its turn has often been attacked by its more powerful neighbours, and suffered dreadfully; but an instance of retaliation on the part of those weak states rarely occurs."

It gives us the sincerest pleasure to close this notice of the people of Bondou in recording a visit lately paid to their country by one of the Wesleyan Missionaries stationed at Macarthy's Island in the Gambia. The Rev. William Fox, in a letter dated August 9th, 1838, thus writes to the Secretaries:—

"I proceeded as far as Boolibany, the capital of Bondou, and was absent just forty days. Although I had to brave fatigue, and sometimes hunger, slept principally on nature's carpet, travelled by night, and when weary threw myself down upon a few small branches broken from the trees, far distant from any human dwelling, yet I was generally well received by the people, as also by the Almami,* or Imaum; and I do not in the least regret having taken this journey. No, I sincerely hope that similar ones will be taken by my successors in this glorious enterprise of saving souls. I distributed a small trunk of Arabic Scriptures; and, whenever an opportunity presented itself, failed not to 'preach Christ unto the people;' and, in return, was politely thanked for so doing, with many blessings and prayers for my safety.

"The Almami I found encamped at a small town about six miles beyond the capital, with about 250 warriors, just about going to war, or rather on some plundering expedition. I was seated by the side of the Almami, in the very midst of these desperadoes, and held a long conversation with them upon the superiority of the Christian religion to the absurd and demoralising system of Mohammedanism. The Almami having asked me to tell them what God had told us to do, and what not to do, gave me an excellent opportunity of dwelling at considerable length upon the decalogue, which I did, and particularly upon those parts of it which I knew to be very applicable to those around me, relating to adultery, murder, theft, sabbath-breaking, &c. Strange to say, when I had done, the Almami answered that what I had said was all very good and true! It was deeply affecting to me to look upon those human beings, professing to love God, having their spears, fire-arms, poisoned arrows, and cutlasses by their sides, prepared for battle at a moment's notice, and every day receiving fresh additions to their force; nor could I satisfy my conscience or leave the camp till I had told the Almami of the impropriety and sinfulness of such a proceeding, and urged him by all that was dear to abandon the project. He, in reply, said it was not the good people they should kill, it was only those who did not pray to God, and for doing this the Almighty would be well pleased with him, and reward him; and if he himself fell in the contest, he should go to heaven, and his happiness there would be considerably enhanced in consequence! I hesitated not to tell him to the contrary; and asked him what was to become of those poor sinners whom, without a moment's notice, he was about to be the means or instrument of hurrying into eternity? This he evaded, and asked

* This king, we have reason to believe, was Saada, the son of that Imaum who died while Major Gray was in Bondou, and who had by this time succeeded to the throne. See before, p. 68.

if the English did not sometimes go to war? This question he repeated at two more interviews I had with him. I told him it was many years since they had had any serious engagement; they generally endeavoured to avoid war as long as they could; and when necessity drove them to it, it was conducted on very different principles from those of African warfare. Whether what I had said to this deluded votary and follower of the false prophet had really any effect upon him in deterring him from going to war, I pretend not to say; but, to the surprise of myself and of many others (notwithstanding that it had been stated that, having once left his palace, he would never return till he had accomplished his object), he, with the whole of his army, that very evening came to the royal town; soon after he sent me his compliments, with a good fat sheep for my supper!

"I stated to the Almami, at the commencement of my interview, that, having visited the kingdoms of Barra, Nyani, and Woolli, whose kings and chiefs were favourably disposed towards us, and willing to receive missionaries, I had on this occasion paid a visit to Bondou; that my object was to get acquainted with the people and with their language, and, when practicable, if the Almami had no objections, to commence a mission amongst them. The Almami answered, they were all very glad to see me; they loved me very much; and I might visit any part of Bondou at any time; and when I wanted to commence a mission, I must go and select the place, and then come and let him know. 'But,' said he, 'we cannot leave our religion—we must follow Mohammed.'"

We presume that the Society may in time be induced to avail itself of the opening which the favourable disposition of the king and people appears to offer, and which the very noble operations of our own nation upon the coast, will doubtless tend to strengthen and confirm. But we have had some little experience of our own in Moslem countries, which makes us participate very strongly in the feeling—which *all* the Societies appear to entertain—of the peculiar difficulty and discouragement of missionary operations among the Mohammedans.

CHAPTER V.

FOOTA-JALLON.

[Turret Nests of White Ants.]

The country of Foota-Jallon, south of the upper Gambia, by which it is separated, on the north, from Bondou, would be interesting, if only from the fact that it contains the sources of three of the great rivers of this coast—the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande—all of which Mollien considers that he discovered. As implied in this fact, the country is mountainous, whence arise modifications of condition and character in the inhabiting nations which it will be necessary to indicate.

Watt and Winterbottom, Mollien, and Major Gray, are the authorities for nearly all the information possessed concerning this great Foulah kingdom.

The country is covered with mountains through its whole extent. Mollien describes these mountains as forming the second plain in this part of Western Africa—proceeding from the sea-coast towards the east. This means, we conclude, that these mountains form the walls of the second of the terraces, or plateaus, in which the land ascends from the coast inland. For, that it does so ascend, in a series of such terraces, is the conclusion which results from a variety of observations by different travellers. And, as temperature and vegetation depend much upon elevation, it is not only probable, but to some extent an ascertained fact, that the interior of Africa, supposed in former times to be uninhabitable on account of the consuming heat, is more cool and healthy than the coast, and perhaps as well or better inhabited.

In these mountains rise most of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic, and they appear to be among the last links of the more lofty chain which lies to the south-east. The valleys situated at the foot of these mountains are, for the most part, but immense reservoirs, supplying the sources of these rivers. In walking over them, the earth resounds under the feet. The soil of these valleys is a rich mould, which the rains and torrents have brought down from the mountains; that of the mountains themselves consists entirely of cinders, mixed with ferruginous stones and remains of plants. The region is evidently volcanic. Much iron-ore is found in these mountains.

The soil is favourable to the production of the smaller species of millet, and also of the ground-nut (*arachis hypogea*), which indeed is produced and used for food in most parts of the coast. These nuts are enclosed in a shell like that of an almond, and the flavour is not altogether unlike. They grow *in* the ground at the extremities of the root, which shoots out a species of

very green leaf, resembling clover, and which the negroes use for fodder. The nut affords a golden-coloured oil, which the French writers declare to be equal to olive-oil for domestic purposes, and superior to it for lamps. The nuts form a very fine meal, which readily mixes with water, and is convenient for travellers, but is oily and difficult of digestion. It is a peculiarity of the ground-nuts, that when once planted they yield successively three annual crops without trouble.

[Ground Nut, *arachis hypogea*.]

In the forest there are few trees which have odoriferous flowers; but there are several, unknown to us, which bear fruits of which the Foulahs are very fond. The best (called tieké) has the form and colour of the cherry, with the taste and seeds of the mulberry. In the more fertile districts are found the orange, banana, and papau trees; and Mollien seems to speak as having seen them here for the first time in his journey from Senegal. These fruits are not indigenous. Foota-jallon is indebted for them to the Portuguese, and the negroes only know them by the names which they bear in the language of that people. Oranges are not very common; but the papau and banana are frequent in the whole of that central portion of the coast country which we have now reached.

The same products are named by Major Gray, whose list however adds—indigo, cotton, rice, maize, yams, cassada, shalots, and pompions; and to the fruits he adds tamarinds, and the *nitta*, or locust-fruit—the same which in another country has been supposed to have afforded John the Baptist one of the two articles—"*locusts* and wild honey"—which formed his fare in the wilderness, although the insect so called may possibly have been intended, that being also used as an article of food. Major Gray describes the tree as—"a kind of mimosa very much resembling the tamarind-tree. The flowers or blossoms are produced at the extremities of the branches, and are succeeded by pods similar to that of a garden-bean, with the exception of

their being from nine to twelve inches long and one broad; each pod contains from nine to twelve black stones resembling those of the tamarind in size and shape, but enveloped in a fine farinaceous powder of the appearance of sublimed sulphur. Its taste is not unlike liquorice-root powder, and when mixed with milk affords a very palatable and nutritious diet."

The rivers are full of fish; and even in the early portion of their course, included in Foota-jallon, abound in alligators and river-horses.

The temperature, as in most mountainous countries, varies greatly with the locality, the season, and the time of the day. Here, the luxury of coldness may be enjoyed without stint. Here, and in the countries immediately to the west and south, even the east wind cools the atmosphere, which in the northern plains it inflames. The difference seems to argue that it must pass over mountains of great elevation before it reaches Foota-jallon. The rainy season is longer (six months) and the rain less intermitted, in consequence of which the valleys are so inundated as to give the country the appearance of an immense lake. But this does not prevent the inhabitants from travelling; trunks of trees enable them to cross the smaller rivers, and canoes are employed to transport them across the Gambia, the Senegal, and the Falemé.

The presence of iron has been mentioned; that of gold is inferred from small quantities being washed down by the streams. Silver, which they have not, is esteemed by the blacks almost as highly as gold, and is everywhere in request. Salt is a scarce luxury, and any small quantity of it is much cared for. The people obtain a kind of salt for their food by boiling the leaves of a small black-barked tree called *bori*. Mollien, having been long without salt, says that, when he at last obtained a small quantity, he ate it with as much pleasure as if it had been sugar.

Lions, hyænas, panthers, and elephants, so common in the north, and more to the south, are very rare in this mountainous country. But there are many animals of the antelope and goat kind, and the apes and baboons are very numerous. One hideous species, covered with a thick mane, is very common. Some are seen with red backs and white bellies. Mollien gives an apparently hearsay, and certainly strange, account, of a species which barks like a spaniel, browses on grass in the meadows, and builds every day a new hut with the branches of trees. Here and elsewhere he heard, what other travellers have heard, that the black women are sometimes assaulted by the larger apes, and deprived of any provisions which they may be carrying; it is even stated that they sometimes force them off and detain them in their retreats. Of this we have never met with a well-authenticated instance; and if an affirmation so frequently repeated in places wide asunder does suggest a possibility that it may have some foundation, we should be disposed to consider that the apes, who are certainly very keen observers, associate the idea of a woman with the (to them) luxurious articles of food which they see her constantly engaged in carrying and preparing, and which they may expect to secure through her means. The inhabitants possess many goats, but few sheep; horned cattle are not uncommon; but for want of moist herbage during half the year, they give but little milk. Mollien found occasion to notice that the Moslem natives will not, however hungry, touch the flesh of any animal which has been killed by a heathen butcher. Many of the negroes who kill a kid (or other small animal?) consider the spleen their perquisite, which they swallow raw and entire, without touching it with their teeth. In like manner, the Arabs eat the raw *liver*: and it is probably against such disgusting usages that the Mosaical law against eating blood was partly levelled.

Burdens are for the most part carried by men, there being hardly any beast of burden in the country. Watt and Winterbottom do not confirm Mollien as to the scarcity of horses in this country; but they are used only for riding. They are seldom more than twelve hands high, swift, and tolerably strong and spirited. They are of Moorish origin, and the saddle and bridle, and the mode of training, are also Moorish. Although the country is mountainous, the horses are never shod. The king had offered rewards for the introduction of the camel; but that animal seems hardly suitable to such a country. As to the ass—Mollien causes some amusement by describing the astonishment which his ass created, especially among the boys. They called it a long-eared horse, and were apprehensive it would devour them, having formed

a notion that its teeth were as long as its ears. At the villages he was enjoined to be heedful to tie up his ferocious beast securely. There are English villages in which a camel would create the same astonishment and apprehension.

From these causes there is scarcely any travelling but on foot. The traveller finds provisions scarce; but there is no lack of water or of shade.

In traversing one of the plains of Foota-jallon, Mollien was struck by the view of three columns in a line, at equal distances from each other, and went to inspect them. Instead of proving the work of man, as he supposed, they were found to be the nests of the lesser, or white termite ants. These buildings are upright cylinders, almost three quarters of a yard high, made of well-tempered black earth or clay, and covered with a roof of the same material in the shape of a cone, the base of which overhangs the cylinder. These turrets are so strongly built, that in case of violence they will much sooner overset from the foundation, turning up the gravel and solid earth, than break in the middle. Although these fabrics are small in comparison with the hill-nests, which we shall find another occasion to mention, and smaller even in proportion to the size of the builders, yet in the same proportion, with reference to ourselves and our fabrics, one of these nests would be four or five times as high as the Monument, and a great many times its solid contents.*

Mollien reports that in passing along one of the streams he was in a moment covered with ants, whose bites gave him so much pain that he was obliged to strip off his clothes to rid himself of them. These, we conclude, were the white ants, called by the natives *bug-a-bugs*, or *bug-aboes*, whose bites form one of the most serious annoyances of West Africa to Europeans.

The sand-fly (*pulex penetrans*) is also one of the nuisances of which we hear the first complaint in Foota-jallon, but which is too well known on the coast. It is really a species of flea, the bite of which is very painful and irritating, and which besides often introduces itself between the skin and the flesh, frequently under the nails of the toes, where it nidificates and lays its eggs, and, if timely attention be not paid to it, causes malignant and sometimes fatal ulcers. There is a species of fly called *betti*, which the natives eat, mixed up with millet-flour. Mollien speaks of this ragoût, of which hunger induced him to eat, with great abhorrence.

Hides, a little ivory, much wax, a little gold, and formerly many slaves, are the merchandises which this country offers—the gold and the slaves come chiefly, however, from the more eastern country of Kankan. In return, the people require silver coins, fire-arms, gunpowder, and cloths. Amber, coral, and glass, so much valued on the immediate coast and in the north, are little cared for by the people of this country.

Foota-jallon was originally inhabited by the Jallonkees, and bore the name of Jallonk, which was gradually softened into Jallo, to which has more recently been prefixed the name of Foota, signifying, together, the Foulahs of Jallo, or Foota-Jallo. The aboriginal Jallonkees are now subject to the Foulahs, who conquered the country under the direction of a family from Massina, consisting of the father, two sons, and a few followers. One of the sons was a Mohamedan priest, who gradually gained such influence over the Jallonkees that he converted many of them to his own faith; and by means of his wealth (of which he is said to have possessed much) strongly attached them to his interest. A few years enabled them to make so many converts to their religion, and their riches procured them so much favour, that they felt themselves in a condition to plan and execute the subjugation of the Jallonkees—at least of such as would not embrace the Moslem faith—and the usurpation of the supreme government, the first exercise of which was to oblige those who still adhered to Paganism to pay them a yearly tribute, or to quit the country which had for ages been their own. Some, however, have been able to maintain themselves in the mountains without submitting to either of these odious obligations. In the family mentioned the government has since continued, although the succession has been much disturbed.

* On the subject of these remarkable nests, the reader will find full and satisfactory accounts in Winterbottom's 'Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, 1803;' in Corry's 'Observations on the Windward Coast;' in Beaver's 'African Memoranda;' also in 'Insect Architecture,' in the 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge.' See the cut at the head of the chapter.

The Foulahs, according to their own account, have not been in possession of the country above eighty years. The government is of a mixed kind, partaking more of the nature of a republic than of a monarchy, and is composed of the states of Teembo, Labee, and Teembee, with their dependencies. Almami, or the Imaum, although he has the chief power, cannot decide anything of importance to the country without the consent of the chiefs of those states, each of whom has a voice in the cabinet.

The Foulahs of Foota-jallon are Mohamedans of the strictest sect, and observe all the ceremonies of Islam with great care and precision. Mollien says, "I am the more surprised at the excessive zeal which they evince for the Mohamedan religion, as one might be tempted to believe, from the cross with which they ornament their dresses, that they formerly professed Christianity."

These Foulahs are black from intermixture with the natives; but they retain much of the proper Foulah in their form and features, although the nose has become broad and flat. The hair is long and worn in many small braids. The men are of the middle stature, well formed, and very active and intelligent. They dress nearly as do the inhabitants of Bondou; but the cap has a different form, and is commonly made of scarlet cloth. They wear sandals, and usually carry a long cane or spear. Thus equipped, they strut about with all the air and affected dignity of men of the first consequence. They are characterized by Major Gray as possessing a high degree of cunning, duplicity, self-interestedness, and avarice, to gratify which they are neither deterred by shame nor fear. This renders it extremely difficult for strangers to guard against the crafty devices they have recourse to in all their dealings of whatever kind, or to elude the rapacious advantage they are always on the alert to take of them, either by imposition or theft.

The women are good figures, have a lively and graceful air, much resembling the European. They are at great pains to preserve their teeth of a pearly whiteness, by constantly rubbing them with a small twig of the tamarind-tree, which is an admirable substitute for the tooth-brush. They are, like all other African females, extravagantly fond of amber, coral, and glass beads, which they bestow in much profusion on their heads, necks, arms, wrists, and ankles.

It was in this country that Mollien first saw a white negro (*Albino*), and it was on its borders that one was first seen by Park. When the former traveller was at Poukou, near the sources of the Senegal, the people brought to him a young Albiness to see what effect would be produced upon him by her appearance. Her colour was a chalky white, she had neither eyebrows nor eyelashes, and her eyes could scarcely endure the light of the sun. Her hair and features were like those of the negroes. She walked slowly, and her whole appearance indicated a state of debility and ill-health. Our traveller learned with surprise that the blacks marry these women, and that they bear children. If they marry a man of their own colour—an Albino—the children, he was assured, were as white as themselves. The sight of such a child, whom they presented to him, excited in him an emotion of pity which the persons present mistook for horror; and one of them remarked, "If thou beholdest beings of the same race as thyself with disgust, be not astonished that we should dislike thy colour." On which the traveller remarks quietly, "I had long been accustomed to such compliments, and was not irritated by this." But although white faces are at a discount in the country of the blacks, the *hair* of white men (Europeans) is held to form a most potent charm, and that of Mollien was therefore much sought after. The hair which he cut off was eagerly picked up, to form talismans against the headache; at one place, much search was made among the learned for an Arabic manuscript containing directions for mixing silk with the hair of Europeans in such a manner as to procure great riches: another time he was relieved from much distress by obtaining from the women some calabashes full of milk, in exchange for some locks of his hair to make greegrees.

In the manufacture of greegrees the traveller himself found much employment in Foota-jallon; more, we seem to collect, than in any other country. An opportunity of obtaining a written charm from a white man, was too rare to be lost by these poor people: and white men generally have been too anxious to please, and too ready to assume the importance given to them, to make any

stand against this degrading superstition—a superstition which, it must be admitted, is not unknown in England, in many of whose rural districts there may be found as ardent greegree worshippers as in the land of the negroes. The chief demand of the applicants was for greegrees to make them as rich as the white people, or such as would enable them to acquire great riches without labour. The part of the body on which such charms should be worn was a great question: in one instance the charm was written directly on a diseased foot; but the most sovereign use of a greegree in healing disease is to drink the water in which the writing has been washed off. But as this involves the sacrifice of the greegree, it is an expedient not resorted to but in extreme cases. For the greegrees which Mollien supplied, the people gladly offered their milk, honey, and rice; but all their respect for the talent with which he scrawled circles, crosses, and triangles for them, could not repress such remarks as—"The white man knows how to read, he knows how to write; but *he does not know how to pray.*" A people prone to feel thus hurt or offended at the real or apparent absence of the recognition of God, and of acknowledged dependence on him—for this is implied in the act of prayer—deserve that we should feel an interest in their favour, and have a claim upon us for such instruction as we can give.

The native of Foota-jallon is the most industrious of all the blacks. The inhabitants of tropical countries in general are not noted for industry. In these climates, where the slightest labour, or even the spontaneous bounties of nature, suffices to keep man from want at least, he is not *compelled* to those industrious habits on which his life and comfort depend in climes less genial and soils less prolific, and which, being once created by the necessities of his condition, form a source of far higher welfare and enjoyment than the inhabitants of the most favoured climates can, without such habits, realise. On this principle we should be prepared to find that the superior industry of the people of Foota-jallon is owing to some stronger necessity than is felt in other African nations. And this is the fact; as a very considerable portion of the country will produce nothing but by dint of labour. This industry, however, is remarkable only in comparison with the indolence of surrounding nations. The Foulah of Foota-jallon is temperate in all things; the army would despise even the king if he ate butter and rice with his milk, or sought any other fare than the wild fruits and boiled millet which form the main subsistence of his people. A grave and serious demeanour, approaching at times to melancholy, is observed in this people, in whom also Mollien recognised principles of politeness which astonished him, because it would lead to the inference that some real advances in civilization had been made. And so, we dare say, there have. It is our belief that there is much more of real civilization—the civilization of *character*—existing in Africa, than travellers, who go up and down wondering at all things new, have been able to recognise.

Some corresponding advances in civilization of *condition* may be traced in the careful perusal of such accounts as we possess.

The poverty of the people seems to be to a considerable extent confined to the more rural and mountainous districts, as there appears to be considerable wealth in the cities arising from commerce. At Teembo, the seat of the government, for instance, the inhabitants exhibit unusual signs of wealth. All the women have silver bracelets and large gold earrings, and wear clothes of blue Guinea stuff, which is a sign of great luxury in Senegambia. Similar signs of wealth in the people are found at Labbee, another great commercial town of this country.

The dwellings of the people of Foota-jallon are also superior to any other in this part of Africa. Their huts are large, airy, and closed with doors. It is true that the bamboo of which they are made affords facilities for this kind of work. The interior is neat and clean, and their luxury consists in being ornamented with arms, or with the mats of Liban. At Boie, Mollien visited a wealthy native, and was struck by the superior character of the house. The wall which supported the roof was nine feet high, a gallery large enough to walk under was carried round the whole of the house, bamboos of dazzling red supported the roof, arms were suspended above the bedstead, or divan, which was composed of moulded earth and ornamented with delicate figure-work. Large mahogany (?) doors, although shaped only with the hatchet, presented a very smooth and polished surface. In the same town the mosque was a

square building; a long gallery went round it; four columns supported the roof, and the floor was covered by beautiful mats manufactured in Liban.

Among the African nations the division of labour and the separation of trades are almost unknown. Every man can execute whatever work his mode of life requires; but more usually the most ingenious man in the village is at once the blacksmith, joiner, architect, and weaver for the others, who give their attention to agriculture or pasturage. But among the Foulahs, however, and some few other nations, some progress has been made in forming distinct trades and occupations. One conspicuous set of men are called *garrankees* or shoemakers, whose occupation is however much larger than the name, as it comprehends all kinds of work in leather—not only the making of sandals, but of bridles, saddles, quivers, &c.; besides which they have to tan and dress their own leather. They can impart to the leather a black colour, and a red equal to that of morocco in beauty; but their works in leather are of course not equal to those of the Moors, although entitled to much praise when all their circumstances are considered. The other principal distinct trade, and in general the only other, is that of the blacksmiths, which, in like manner as the other, comprehends not only the fabrication of all such utensils of iron as their mode of life requires, but also the inlaying the handles and chasing the blades of swords, and the manufacture of ornaments in gold and silver. As the "shoemaker" is the universal worker in leather, so the "blacksmith" is the universal worker of metal; and one man, the weaver, performs all the operations connected with the fabrication of cloth from cotton. It is interesting to contemplate these beginnings of that division of the labours of man into trades, in proportion as the increased wants and refinements of the people cause more enlarged demands upon ingenuity and skill than one man is able to satisfy. At first the divisions are large and comprehensive—workers in leather, workers in iron, workers in stone, workers in wood, and so forth; until at last the demands of a still improving society break up each of these large classes into numerous divisions—when, instead of workers in leather, we have tanners, curriers, shoemakers, saddlers, &c.; for workers in metals, founders, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, horse-shoe smiths, coppersmiths, tin-workers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, &c.—and so of the others. Thus the condition of society is seen by the number of trades which it contains.

We felt much interest in learning the eager curiosity with which the Foulah workers in leather and metal hasten to visit a white traveller, and overhaul his goods, dress, or arms, in the hope of getting some hints which may be of use to them in their respective crafts.

The huts of the Foulahs contain much neater pottery than the reader would suspect. The potter's wheel is not known in Africa. The earth used by the Foulahs is of a deep black; and from the appearance of their vessels it might be supposed that they were varnished. Their wooden porringers are also much admired for their elegance; and although only shaped with the axe, they looked as if they had been turned with the lathe. The Foulahs also excel in the fabrication of bows, and have no rivals in the use of them. There are other manufactures which the Foulahs possess in common with some other African nations, but which it is not necessary to notice in this place.

Here Sir T. F. Buxton's new book, 'The Slave Trade and its Remedy,' furnishes an anecdote from a private letter, which was written in 1818 by Mr. Clarkson to Mr. J. J. Gurney, describing his interview with the Emperor Alexander at Aix-la-Chapelle. He states that he exhibited articles in iron, in leather, in gold, in cotton, cloth, mats, &c. "Having gone over all the articles, the Emperor desired me to inform him whether he was to understand that these articles were manufactured by the Africans in their own country, that is, in their own native villages; or after they had arrived in America, where they would have an opportunity of seeing European manufactures. I replied that such articles might be found in every African village, both on the coast and in the interior, and that they were samples of their own ingenuity without any connexion with Europeans. 'Then,' said the Emperor, 'you give me a new idea of the state of these poor people. I was not aware that they were so far advanced in society. The works you have shown me are not the works of brutes, but of men endued with rational and intellectual powers, and capable of being brought to as high a degree of proficiency as any

other men. Africa ought to be allowed a fair chance of raising her character in the scale of the civilized world.' I replied that it was the cruel traffic in slaves which had prevented her from rising to a level with other countries, and that it was really astonishing to me that the natives had, under its impeding influence, arrived at the perfection which displayed itself in the specimens he had just seen. The Emperor replied that it was equally astonishing to him; for that, wherever the trade existed, a man could have no stimulus to labour; being subject every hour to be taken away for a slave, he could not tell whether he would enjoy the fruits of it; he was sure upon this principle that no man could save more than was sufficient for his own consumption, and so the same principle would prove an obstacle to any extraordinary cultivation of the works of art."

The reader will, no doubt, conclude that in such a state of society persons so exceedingly useful as these smiths, leather-workers, and weavers must needs be held in high honour among the Foulahs. By no means. We need but reflect a little and look a little around us to perceive that the reverse is more likely to be, as it actually is, the case; for there is no nation—no nation in Europe, not even our own—so perfectly civilized, none in which the old leaven of barbarism has so entirely ceased to work, that the manufacturer is held in as much esteem as the person who has nothing to do, or nothing that ministers directly to the use and comfort of life. This obviously arose in the fact that the endowments and habits required and exercised in such pursuits are so different, and, as they would say, so much less "manly," than those which were most highly prized among the warriors, hunters, shepherds, or cultivators, who predominated in the earlier stages of social existence, and who existed before trades were known. This is one of the old things which outlast the conditions of life in which they arose; and although, in such civilized countries as ours, there is not the same formal and palpable distinction of *castes* as in India, where the privileged classes will not even eat with the men practising trades, or where, as among the Foulahs, although they may eat they will not intermarry with them—the distinction as really exists, and both the eating and the intermarrying are *in practice* almost as rare. The equality of the grave is, however, admitted by the Foulahs, who do not deny to the craftsman, as to the Goulah, a final rest in the earth.

Except the purely pastoral Foulahs, all the Africans pay attention more or less to agriculture. In fact, the Africans in the mass may be regarded as an agricultural people. Of all the Africans, the Foulahs certainly are the most successful in agricultural pursuits. They alone understand the principle of a succession of crops from the same soil; and they alone know the uses of manure. Much of this improved condition of agriculture among a people not yet acquainted with the plough may probably be attributed to the fact that land is considered more as private property among the Foulahs than in any other African nation; and thus every holder has the higher individual interest in devising means for extracting the largest quantity and best quality of produce from his land. In general the Africans of every village cultivate the common grounds of that village by their common labour, and divide the produce equally, according to the number of mouths in each family requiring food. The head man of the village has an extra allowance from the general stock, to enable him to bear the charge of entertaining strangers. He stands up, and they pour upon his head measure after measure of grain until the heap reaches his mouth. This is his allowance. The village chief has thus a sensible advantage in being tall. Besides these public plantations, any one is at liberty to cultivate ground for his private use, which he does either by his own labour or the labour of his slaves. This practice of private cultivation is most general among the Foulahs, whence the ground is more divided into separate plantations, some of them large enough to deserve the name of farms, and requiring a large number of slaves to cultivate.

The Foulahs, those of Foota-jallon especially, affect a degree of study and learning which, perhaps, few of our readers would look for in Negroland. The gravity of their Mohamedanism leads them to despise dancing and many other amusements of which the Pagan negroes are fond. Riding on horseback is their favourite and almost only exercise. "Sedentary amusements," says Winterbottom, "as reading and writing, which flatter the literary pride with which they are greatly puffed up, are most congenial to their minds. *Collating* (Arabic)

manuscripts, which they perform with much accuracy and industry, takes up much of their time." Considering the pity which we bestow upon African ignorance, and the many benevolent efforts we have been making for its removal, it is not a little amusing to learn that in Africa there are persons who are as well convinced that "the former times were better than these!" and who as earnestly lament "the good old times," as the stanchest retrospector in our own or any other country. Thus the king of Labbee (Foota-jallon), with much concern, informed Watt and Winterbottom that knowledge was in a declining state among the Foulahs; adding that their ancestors a hundred years ago were far wiser than the present generation.

In this and other Moslem countries of Africa, the Mohamedan literati take measures for displaying the extent of their acquirements, which are not, in principle, at all unlike the variations of dress by which the different degrees are distinguished at our universities. When a man thinks himself able to answer a respectable number of theological questions, he allows the end of his turban cloth to hang down one side of his head. When he becomes still more learned he allows both ends to hang down, one on each side of his head. A higher degree of learning is denoted by the end of the turban being passed under his chin, and fastened on the crown of the head. Last of all, the most irrefragable doctor, who can answer all questions, solve all difficulties, and is well able to

> ——— "distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side:"

—*he* confidently passes *both* folds of the turban under his chin, and makes both ends meet on the top of his head.

Our former acquaintance, Mollien, had the advantage of being present at a literary assembly at Teembo, the capital of Foota-jallon. It was held in the house of a common marabout, called Abdoulai, to whom the king had confided the government of the city while himself absent. One of the marabouts was reading aloud when Mollien entered, and some young men who were present followed him attentively in their books; and Abdoulai, who was blind, explained the difficult passages. A discussion then arose upon several passages the sense of which appeared doubtful. The book (which appeared to be the History of Mohamed—perhaps a book of traditions) was then taken by one of the young men, who read aloud; as he read, the others, under the direction of a marabout, corrected the errors which had crept into the several copies of the same work which they held in their hands. The most profound silence prevailed among these young men, who appeared to be really studious and much interested in their work. The cottage of Abdoulai, in which this literary conference was held, was completely that of a scholar: a bed made of a mat, a leathern bag filled with books, a pitcher of water, and two or three vessels for ablutions, constituted the whole of its furniture.

The knowledge of astronomy among this people is confined to marking the hours and the months by the changes of the constellations. As the bear is an animal not known in the country, the constellation which we call the Great Bear, they call the Elephant—a name certainly as suitable as the other.

We feel an especial interest in bringing under the notice of the reader such facts as tend to show the character of the internal and domestic slavery of Africa, and the condition of the slaves—apart from the foreign slave-trade. It is only from such facts that we can judge whether the slave is better or worse off in his own country or in the tropical colonies and states of the West Indies and America. This is a question of much interest and importance, but we will not give it undue prominence; for, whatever might be the result of such a comparison, the obligations of Christians as against slavery and the slave-trade would be the same. If the condition of the slave were very much better under a white than a black master, it would be even more incumbent upon us to do our own duty; for then, by destroying the lesser enormity in which we conceived our interest involved, we should be all the more entitled to exert ourselves in destroying the greater enormity which others conceive themselves interested in maintaining. "*Our* yoke was easier upon your countrymen than that which *you* make them bear, and yet *we* set them free," would be a good argument against the native slave-holders.

The concurrence of Europeans and Americans may put down the slave-trade, and may ex-

tirpate entirely the foreign slavery of the Africans; but no such legislation can have effect upon the domestic slavery of a country in which a large majority of the inhabitants are slaves to the remainder. *This* slavery can only be abolished by the gradual operation of those benign and highly-civilizing influences of our holy religion, which have banished slavery from every country of Christendom.

Well, among the Foulahs, each village, or several of the inhabitants of a village, assemble their slaves and make them build themselves huts close to each other. This place is called a *rumbdeh*. The slaves thus collected are under the internal government of a chief of their own body chosen by themselves, who, after his death, is succeeded by his children, if they are worthy. The slaves, who, judged by our notions, are such in name only, cultivate the grounds of their masters, and accompany them to carry their burdens when they travel. Most of the slaves are, of course, of an origin foreign to that of the nation which holds them in bondage. The recently acquired foreign slaves may be sold by the master; *but no slave born in the country can be sold, nor any slave who has attained an advanced age.* Any departure from this practice would ensure the desertion of the whole *rumbdeh*. If a slave misconducts himself, however, he is delivered up by his comrades to the master, that he may sell him. Thus carefully do the home slaves guard themselves against the calamity of being sold to the white man, and reserve it as a punishment for crime. It must not be concealed, however, that this favourable treatment of the slaves is not general, and is in a great degree confined to Foota-jallon, where the desire to make the slave satisfied with his condition is in no small degree promoted by the ease with which he may secure his liberty by escaping into the mountains if he feels himself aggrieved. Mountains have everywhere and in all ages been friendly to freedom; and if anywhere slavery is found among them, it is deprived of those rigours which make it a distressing condition of life.

In a country so rigidly Mohamedan as Foota-jallon, there is little to encourage the hope that it will be one of the first countries of Western Africa to receive benefit from the enterprise of our missionaries. We are ourselves in the habit of feeling that, humanly speaking, the mind of every rigid Moslem is, more than that of any other man that breathes, *shut up* against the religion of Christ. We know not whether it be from the same feeling or not that no Society has hitherto pointed to Foota-jallon as a probable scene of missionary labour.

But this country seems capable of receiving a full measure of benefit from the check which the English cruisers have given to the slave-trade on this part of the coast, and from the attention which the inhabitants are consequently led to turn towards the development of the natural resources of their country, to counterpoise the loss they have sustained.

Major Gray, whose book was issued in 1825, but whose observations appear to refer to 1816, says,—"The commerce of Foota-jallon may be divided into two heads; namely, first, that in slaves, *now nearly extinct*, as least as far as exportation is concerned, in consequence of the constant surveillance of the British cruisers on the coast, and the unremitted exertions of the government of Sierra Leone to lead the people of that country to a more intimate connexion with the colony, and a more valuable employment of their time, in cultivating and bringing into our market there the other productions of their own and surrounding countries, which may be considered the second head under which their commercial pursuits can be classed. The Rio Nunez and Pongas, which were formerly infested by slave-dealers and their emissaries, are now freed from the odious burden of such a party; and those who still retain factories there, although they would smile at the revival of that unnatural trade, see so little prospect of its ever being again open to them, that they begin to think of other and less nefarious means of amassing wealth."

Sir T. F. Buxton, in his recent work, 'The Slave Trade and its Remedy,' has large statements, tending to exhibit the disposition of the kings and chiefs of Western Africa to enter into such friendly relations with our settlements as would tend to the substitution of a more humane and beneficial traffic for that in slaves. Among other instances we find the following: we need only premise that "the king of the Foulahs" mentioned herein is the sovereign of Foota-jallon, through which we have already accompanied the reader:—

"In a despatch from Acting-Governor Grant, dated at Sierra Leone, 28th February, 1821, I find that 'an application has been made to Governor Macarthy by the king of the Foulahs, a very powerful prince in the interior, expressing a desire to have an officer sent up to Teemboo, the capital of his territories; and having myself,' he says, 'received a very friendly letter from the king, I was induced, in conformity with Governor Macarthy's intentions, to despatch Mr. O'Beirn, assistant-surgeon to the forces, on that service. The influence of the Foulah nation, extending from the branches of the Sierra Leone river to the banks of the Niger, and communicating with the principal countries of the interior, renders a friendly connexion with that country of much importance to our commercial interests; and it is with much satisfaction I have to report the good effect of Mr. O'Beirn's exertions, which are already felt here in the increased supply of ivory, gold, and cattle, brought by the Foulahs to our different factories situate on this river. Mr. O'Beirn is merely accompanied by a few people of colour to carry his luggage and presents, the expense of which will be trifling.' He was received in the most friendly manner possible at Teemboo, the capital of the Foulah nation, by the king Almami Abdool Kadree.

"The following is an extract from Mr. O'Beirn's journal: 'I never saw more joy and complacency in any countenance than his expressed on my being introduced to him, and I have seldom in my life experienced such a kind and warm reception.' The chiefs were assembled to hear his explanation of the objects of his mission: he explained to them the great advantage they would derive from carrying on a trade with the colony, and how much superior such a trade would be to the traffic in slaves; and told them what England had done to put an end to it and to give freedom to their countrymen. 'Almami replied, that he had for many years wished for a communication to be opened between Sierra Leone and his country, Foota-jallon, and that it should continue free and uninterrupted to the latest day; adding that it was not his fault, or it would have been effected years before. He likewise remarked, with respect to what I had said of the slave-trade, it was his opinion that it would be given up ere long; that is, sending them for sale to the coast; and that he was fully convinced he would be brought to account in the next world for disposing of his fellow-creatures in that way; but hoped, at the same time, God would accept the excuse of the impossibility that formerly existed of procuring the necessaries of life in such abundance, or resisting the inducements held out at that time by the white people that came to purchase them.'"

Sir T. F. Buxton also introduces into his book a long and very interesting extract from a paper furnished by Mr. Bandinel, who resided at Sierra Leone during a period of seventeen years. In this the following passage occurs: the Foulahs of which it speaks are obviously, like the preceding, those of Foota-jallon, from the western frontier of which kingdom Kaikandy is not, indeed, very distant:—

"Keeping steadily in sight your principle of substituting a harmless and profitable trade for one that is illegal and worse than profitless, I am also desirous of directing your attention to what has been going on during the last year or two in the Rio Nunez. This river, though now little spoken of, was in former years notorious for slave-trading.

"At Kaikandy, the chief trading place, situated about 100 miles from the sea, and in the country of the Landemas, numerous factories, occupied by French and English traders, are established, to which Foulahs, Serawoolies, Bambarras, and people of other nations, resort in great numbers. I spent some time there in February last, and was assured by the merchants that the Foulahs were gradually weaning themselves from the slave-trade, and that they had of late years brought down a much larger quantity of native produce than formerly; an assurance which was confirmed, as well by the number of English and French merchants established there in the prosecution of legitimate commerce, as by the *single slave-trader*, Senhor Caravalho, a Portuguese.

"About three years ago some of the Foulah traders, who resort to Kaikandy, brought down small parcels of coffee and offered them for sale; the coffee was so eagerly purchased by the European merchants, that the Foulahs immediately turned their attention to a further supply of it. It appears that there are vast forests of indigenous coffee in the Foulah country, and

of much finer quality than that of the West Indies or South America. The Foulahs evince great satisfaction in the possession of such an unexpected source of wealth, and the quantity supplied has of course greatly increased; but, unfortunately, this infant trade, at the very dawning of its existence, is threatened with destruction; it being found that the protective duty for British plantation [coffee] was so high as to prove tantamount to a total exclusion of the Foulah coffee, the duty on the former being 6*d.*, and on the latter 1*s.* 3*d.* per pound. The merchants at Kaikandy have, nevertheless, continued to purchase the coffee in whatever quantities it has been offered, in the hope that the British Government may yet be disposed to relieve them of these difficulties.

"But the most grievous part of the disappointment is, that it would be difficult to devise any mode calculated more powerfully and effectually to disenthral the people from the desire of kidnapping and selling each other, than the admission of the Foulah coffee into the ports of Great Britain on terms similar to those of British plantation.

"You will perceive from this detail that the Foulahs, without any extrinsic aid, have already done much in furthering the object you have at heart; that they want assistance; that the present is the time at which that assistance may most effectually be applied; and also the nature of the assistance required.

"The Foulahs are an intelligent people, and are very anxious to extend their commercial dealings with the British. They seem to have already perceived that it is more profitable for them to preserve the element of labour in their own country than to deprive themselves of its assistance by selling each other to strangers; so that it may be said, without a metaphor, that in every hundredweight of coffee which they collect and take to Kaikandy, at least one human being is preserved from slavery."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PASTORAL FOULAHS.

[Foulah Village.]

The foregoing account of the Foulahs in their four principal kingdoms has probably given the reader a tolerably clear notion of their condition. There are other kingdoms in the interior which do not come within the limits of this section; and there are some small states and collections of Foulah people within our limits, but concerning which we have little of such information as we require. There are also many customs and usages which belong to the Foulahs, and assist to mark their condition; but which, as they are common to them and the other Moslem inhabitants of Western Africa, do not necessarily belong to this chapter.

Our statement gives to the Foulahs a relative importance which they will be found to bear in few other descriptions. This arises from our finding them as the ruling or inhabiting people in many different kingdoms; whereas individual travellers confined the name to some particular nation or section of Foulah society which they happened to know. Thus, the Foulahs of the early French writers were those in the kingdom of the Siratik, on the Senegal; the Foulahs of the early English writers (Jobson, Moore, and others) were the pastoral Foulahs, dispersed among the Mandingoes on the Lower Gambia; the Foulahs of Winterbottom were those of the kingdom of Foota-jallon, among whom his brother travelled; the Foulahs of Park were chiefly those of Bondou, although he gave the first notion of their extension, which induced him to name them as the second people of Western Africa. Mollien still more clearly defines their extension, and enables us to perceive that, instead of being the second, they are the very first people in this quarter of the world.

It is quite necessary to understand that our present Foulahs, whom we find in every country and kingdom on both sides of the Gambia, are not mere wanderers from the settled nations, but exhibit a distinct condition of life. We will call that condition "pastoral," for the sake of distinguishing these Foulahs from the settled nations of the same name. If the conclusion that the Foulahs were originally pastoral tribes of Northern Africa, who withdrew before the Saracens, and

abandoned their pasture-grounds to the Arabs, be correct—then they must have found themselves in a region less suitable to the pastoral life than the country they had left. They found themselves in a country where the inhabitants live chiefly on vegetables, and where wool was not in use;—indeed, where the wool of sheep changes its nature and becomes like hair; and where, moreover, the violence and duration of the periodical rains render the dwelling in tents impracticable. Under these circumstances, it appears that a large proportion of them fixed themselves down in settled life, in the countries of which they now form the original inhabitants. But others chose rather to retain as much as they could of their original mode of life, adopting only such modifications as were rendered necessary by the change of place and circumstances. Their tents they changed for huts of reeds and thatch, made in the form of the tents they relinquished. It was necessary they should engage to some extent in agriculture; but the waste and uncultivated lands were so extensive in proportion to those occupied by the inhabitants, that merely for the sake of pasture-grounds and plots to cultivate, so easily procured for a rent in cattle to the native chiefs, it was neither expedient nor necessary to attempt to dispossess a people already settled in towns, and whom, without adopting their habits of life, it would not be easy to govern. It was also necessary that, as pastors, they should to a considerable extent exchange the care of sheep for that of horned cattle, which they have accordingly done. Their distinct mode of life, and the absence of the inducements to intermixture which conquest creates, have enabled them to preserve the original Foulah complexion, which is nearly lost in the *settled* nations south of the Senegal; and although some portions of them have become rigid Moslems, they may be said, as a body, to retain the religion which they carried with them from the countries whence they fled before the belted missionaries of Islam; whereas those who settled down in organised communities were obliged to embrace the law of Mohamed. We consider that the peculiar complexion and features of this people, together with a peculiar language and religion (different from the negro Paganism), and the manifest traces which they exhibit of an original mode of life, such as never did exist in a tropical country, evince very clearly their foreign origin—while language, hair, and the peculiar shape of the hut, sufficiently identify the Teucolars, or settled *black* descendants of the same race. We dwell on this, because a very distinguished missionary, Mr. Macbriar, has conjectured that the Foulahs were the original inhabitants of Senegambia, and that the blacks are conquering intruders from the south. But as this notion appears to have no other foundation than Major Rennell's conjecture that the Foulahs, as described by Park, were the Leucœthiopes, or white negroes, whom Pliny and Ptolemy fix in Western Africa, it is easily subverted by the remark that the term "white negro," as applied to a people of a dark mahogany colour and well-known negro characteristics, does not appear very evident. It is much more probable that the idea of a nation of "white negroes" in Africa arose from the accidental discovery of the curious Albino variety of the negro race.

We have mentioned that the pastoral Foulahs, living among the Mandingoes on the Gambia, were those with whom the English became first acquainted. It was long before we came to the knowledge of large Foulah kingdoms in the interior. The most satisfactory account of them that we have ever had was furnished by Francis Moore (not the "Physician," of immortal memory, but), many years factor to the African Company, on the Gambia, in the early part of the last century. He lived so long in that quarter, and his opportunities of acquiring information were so good, that his account is that which we shall follow, corrected and improved from the recent information supplied by the missionaries. As it is towards these pastoral Foulahs, "strangers in a land that is not theirs," that the first, and as yet sole, operations of our missionaries have been directed, we need not recommend their condition to the special notice of our readers.

They are found in every kingdom and country on both sides of the Gambia, and, as we have said, retain for the most part their original mahogany complexion. They have a language of their own; and in addition to what has been already said of that language (p. 74), we must give the information supplied by the Rev. R. M. Macbriar, who was sent out by the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the special purpose of making inquiries on the subject, with the view of learning into which of the languages of Western Africa the Sacred Scriptures might first be

translated with the most general benefit. He found that in the Foulah tribes among the Mandingoes the Mandingo language was understood, and the Jaloof language by the tribes in the Jaloof country; but that among themselves they preserved the use of their own tongue, and the women and children spoke no other. This missionary did not acquire the language, having determined that the Mandingo required his first attention. But certain peculiarities in the Foulah language engaged his notice; and he thus describes them in a paper entitled "The Gambia," inserted in the Wesleyan Magazine for 1837:—"The Foulah language is very peculiar in its pronunciation and structure, very much resembling the Kaffer of South Africa. These are the only two languages yet known that have the remarkable euphonic accent, or change of initial letters. The Kaffer clicks are borrowed from the Hottentots; and those of the interior do not employ them, but use a *hiatus* in their place. This hiatus is also found in the Foulah tongue." From this and other circumstances of analogy, the missionary is disposed to ascribe an identity of origin to the two peoples; concluding it probable "that some of the Foulah tribes of the interior were driven southward, till, passing the fiery regions of the Equator, they settled in the mountains of the south." This is a neat conjecture, which we are content to put on record in this place. Occasion to examine it may occur in another section of this work.

Moore's knowledge appears to have been confined to the Moslem portion of this race. Arabic, he says, was taught in their schools, and was, in fact, better known among them than Latin in Europe. He adds, that as Moslems they had the fortitude to refuse the taste of brandy, which is so irresistibly tempting to Africans in general, and would drink nothing stronger than sugar and water. The missionaries, however, describe the more inland pastoral Foulahs as "complete heathens, acknowledging indeed a Divine Being, but rendering him no homage and performing no acts of religious worship. Many of them wear *greegrees* because it is the custom, though they do not profess to place any faith in their efficacy."

In these countries the Foulahs live in clans, and build themselves towns. They do not consider themselves subject to the kings in whose country they live, although they pay them tribute in cattle. If they are ill treated in one nation, they break up their towns and remove to another. The loss of such removals is small to them, their cane huts being of very trifling value, and others being easily erected.

"They have chiefs of their own, who rule them with so much moderation that every act of the government seems rather an act of the people than of one man. This form of government goes on easily, because the people are of so good and quiet a disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a man who does ill is the abomination of all, and none will support him against the chief." (Moore.)

In these countries the natives are not covetous of land. They desire no more than what they can themselves cultivate; and as, from the want of the plough, they have no assistance from cattle, but all the work is performed by labour of hand, the land they can use is but very small. This it is which renders the kings not by any means reluctant to see the Foulahs "squat" (to use an Americanism) in their territories, and cultivate the soil. This they do with far more vigour and skill than the natives. Near their houses they plant tobacco, and all around the town they open the ground for cotton,—the whole town, with these two articles of produce, being enclosed within a circular fence. Beyond this fence, and within a strong exterior hedge towards the country—that is, between the inner fence and an outer hedge—are the corn-fields, in which they raise the four kinds of grain which form the main subsistence of the people throughout Western Africa. These are maize or "Indian corn," rice, and the greater and lesser millet or "Guinea corn." Western Africa has none of our European grains—wheat, barley, rye, or oats—and therefore nothing that we call "bread;" neither do they generally make cakes or loaves with their own sorts of grain (except where the practice has been learnt from the Europeans, near the settlements), but employ the flour chiefly to thicken their liquids. The maize they mostly use when green, parching it in the ear upon the coals, when it eats like green peas. Rice is chiefly boiled and eaten in pillaus, as among the Orientals. But the two sorts of millet are reduced to meal, by pounding in wooden mortars,

and used as just indicated. If we wonder how the African can do without corn-bread—*our* staff of life—the answer is found in the fact that the African as much wonders how we can do without his staff of life—rice. "An African," says Winterbottom, "who has been feasted with every delicacy which an European table can afford, yet, if rice has not formed a part of his entertainment, he will say he has had no *meat* for so long a time; and on his return home will return to his beloved food with redoubled ardour."

Several valuable roots also engage the attention of the Foulah cultivators. There is the manioc or cassida, the farinaceous matter of whose roots, made into a kind of starch, is well

[Yam—*Dioscorea sativa.*]

known to us under the name of tapioca. The species, common in the West Indies, in which the root contains a poisonous juice, which must be extracted before it can be used for food, is perhaps not known in Africa, where the entirely wholesome species only is cultivated.* The root is grated small, and baked into a kind of bread, which is much in use among the Africans,

[Different sorts of Yam-roots.]

* Labat, the Sieur Brue's editor, and who himself knew the negroes well in the West Indies, but not in Africa, gives engravings representing negroes preparing the manioc-root for food, such as he had seen it in the West Indies —concluding the practice was the same in Africa: but this was an error, as Western Africa does not appear to possess the poisonous species of manioc, which alone requires the sort of preparation which Labat's engravings exhibit. We have been induced to mention this by perceiving that Labat's picture has been frequently since, and continues to be, copied into books relating to Africa.

and in some parts forms their principal food. Yams also are as well known and perhaps as largely used in Western Africa as in the West Indies. This is a farinaceous root resembling the potato, but of closer texture, and used, either boiled or roasted, as a substitute for bread. The yam is a climbing plant, with long and tender stalks. The root is flat and palmated, about a foot in breadth, white within, but externally dark-brown, almost black. Yams can be much improved by culture; in some parts of Africa they weigh 15 or 20 pounds, and are in taste almost equal to the potato. There are also sweet potatoes, arrow-root, and ginger; but these require no particular notice.

We introduce these particulars here for the same reason that Francis Moore gives his slighter statement—"because the Pholeys (Foulahs) are the greatest planters in the country, though they are strangers in it."

The Foulahs, being industrious and frugal, raise much more produce than they consume; and the surplus they sell at a reasonable rate to the natives. They are in general so hospitable and charitable, that it is reckoned a blessing by the natives to have a Foulah town in their neighbourhood; and so much are they respected that it has generally come to be considered infamous to violate the laws of hospitality towards a Foulah. Although humane to all, they have a double measure of kindness towards their own race; and if one of them has fallen into slavery, they will all unite to redeem him. As they have plenty of food in those parts, they never suffer any of their own nation to want; and the aged, the blind, and the lame are supported with much care and tenderness. Their beneficence extends to the Mandingoes, many of whom they maintain in times of famine.

They are rarely angry, and two of them are not often heard abusing each other. Mr. Macbriar thinks that this mildness arises from want of courage; but Moore, who was perhaps a better judge on this point, affirms that it does not, and that they are as brave as any African people, and employ their weapons with skill. They settle commonly near some Mandingo town; and there is scarcely any such town of note up the Gambia which has not another of Foulahs near at hand.

The Foulahs are not only tillers of the ground, but breed cattle to a large extent; and their reputation for skill in the management of cattle is so well established, that the Mandingoes are glad to commit such as they possess to their care. The whole herd belonging to towns feed all the day in the savannahs, and, after the crop is off, in the rice-grounds. They are watched by some herdsmen to prevent them from running into the woods or from trespassing on the corn-grounds. Inside the outer enclosure of each town a large space is appropriated as a fold for cattle. In the middle of it is raised a stage almost eight feet from the ground, and eight or ten feet wide, and open on all sides, but covered by a thatched roof. It is ascended by a ladder. The cattle are driven into this fold every evening, and are in a state of such tameness that at the regular times they are brought in with the utmost ease. Each animal is then tied to a stake by a strong rope made of bark. The cows are then milked; after which four or five men well armed mount the stage or "watch-tower," to guard the herds from lions and other beasts of prey. The calves they wean from the cows, and keep in a common pen, which is enclosed by a fence too high and strong for any beast of prey to pass. In the morning the cows are again milked, after which they are again driven forth into the open pastures.

As students of the Bible, we dwell with interest on details which bring to mind the early forms of settled life as they are recorded in the sacred books. The usages of men of all colours and countries have an intimate resemblance in the same stages of progress; and the more we become acquainted with different nations, the more strongly we shall be convinced that the real differences among them are rather differences of PROGRESS than of colour, climate, or character.

The Foulahs are also "mighty hunters;" but in this part of their character they have already been sufficiently exhibited. Moore expresses his belief that, were it not for the industrious Foulahs, many of the Mandingoes among whom they live would want sustenance. We are also informed that they are almost the only people who make butter, which they barter up the river for salt. They are very particular in their dress, and never wear any other than white

cotton clothes, of their own manufacture. They are always very clean, especially the women, who keep their dwellings in a remarkably neat condition. Their tent-like huts are built at some distance from each other, to prevent the spread of fire; and thus are formed good streets and passages, and other advantages obtained which the Mandingoes regard but little. Moore gives a picture of a Foulah town, which, with all the defects incident to the mode of representation, is so instructive that we have caused it to be copied at the head of this chapter. Most of the Foulah towns are laid out on this model.

It seems that the Foulahs are great admirers of large white and yellow beads, which have therefore acquired the name of "Foulah-beads."

Of their superstitions, the most curious is that which leads them to refuse to sell milk to any person who has been known to boil it, under the impression that boiling the milk makes the cows dry. Major Gray makes us acquainted with a circumstance which we should not have known from any other source; namely, that some of those Foulahs whose locality is distant from the rivers, leave their stations and wander with their herds in search of water and pasturage during the dry season. We may conceive that such are seen to disadvantage in comparison with those who live on the banks of the great rivers. Major Gray's description is not favourable. At the foot of some hills, about a quarter of a mile from the Gambia, in the Sălum country, he says, "I observed some small huts, in the vicinity of which was feeding a herd of black cattle, but I could not discern any people. I therefore descended to the huts, where I found an old man, the only person there. He, with much apparent apprehension for his own safety, desired me to keep off, which requisition he seemed determined to enforce, and snatched up one of a few arrows that were lying at his side on the ground. By means of my interpreter I endeavoured to explain to him that his fears were without cause, and that chance only, not intention, led us to his retreat. This, however, did not convince him; he still desired us to keep off. A little tobacco and a few beads, in exchange for which we requested some milk, induced him to think more favourably of us. It was, however, with much difficulty I convinced him of his error, and prevailed on him to go in search of his companions, who, on our approach, had run into the woods, driving their cattle before them. In about fifteen minutes he returned, and in a few more the whole tribe made its appearance. The women and children, however, could not be induced to approach nearer than 300 yards of us. Their number did not exceed four men, as many women, and twelve children, the latter totally naked. They are of a dark copper colour, and belong to the Dhyangele tribe, the chief of which resides in a wilderness of three days' journey, lying in lat. 14° and 15°, between the kingdoms of Jaloof and Bondou. There they always remain during the rains, at which time they find a sufficiency of pasturage and water for their cattle; but are obliged to wander in search of both after January. Their appearance is extremely filthy and poor. They subsist chiefly on milk, a little corn, which they obtain in exchange for butter when in the vicinity of towns, and such game as they can kill.

"Their only furniture consists of a few mats to lie on, some wooden bowls and calabashes, and a few leather bags; the latter serve them as churns, and to carry water in when encamped at a distance from where it is to be found.

"Their dress is very plain, being nothing more than a piece of cotton cloth about two and a half yards long and a quarter wide, wrapped round the waist, and descending a little below the knees, with another of the same kind thrown over the shoulders. The men wear a cotton cap besmeared with grease, to which is sometimes added, by way of ornament, the end of a cow tail, dyed blue or red. Like all other pagans they are very superstitious, and wear a great number of gewgaws or charms round their necks, arms, and legs. They are inordinately fond of red cloth, which they make use of in covering those charms. Their weapons are long spears, bows and arrows, and occasionally a long gun. They are good marksmen with all these, and seldom throw away a shot; but this arises more from the difficulty they find in obtaining powder, ball, and small shot, than from any dislike to miss their mark."

In describing the condition of the Foulahs under the Mandingoes, the Wesleyan missionaries give a less favourable picture than we have given on the authority of Moore. Whether their condition grew gradually worse after his time, or whether the native authorities

may not have exaggerated affairs to the missionaries, at a time when they knew little, of their own knowledge, we cannot tell. It is admitted that *now*, since the abolition or discouragement of the slave-trade in this quarter, their condition has been much meliorated; but we are informed that they were still, and had been more, subjected to much oppressive treatment from the Mandingo chiefs.

This will best appear in the account, which we now proceed to give, of the measures taken for their benefit.

The British settlement of St. Mary, on an island of that name, in the mouth of the Gambia, was formed in 1816, and was first occupied by the British merchants who had removed from the river Senegal and the island of Goree, in consequence of these places having then (by the treaty of Paris) been restored to the crown of France. The island was ceded by the chief of the Combo territory upon the south bank of the river; in consideration of which he receives a small annual payment in goods from the colonial government. The other stations in this river, now occupied by the British, and similarly acquired, are—Barra Point, immediately opposite St. Mary's, on the northern bank of the river; the island of Fort James, 18 miles higher up; and Macarthy's Island (called in old maps the Island of Lemain), which is now ascertained to be only 150 miles from the town of Bathurst, St. Mary's, although it is still usual to hear it called between 300 and 400.* This last-named island is 5½ miles long by 1 mile in its greatest breadth; and the width of the river on each side is 200 yards.

The attention of the Wesleyan Missionary Society was early called to this quarter; and a Mission was established at St. Mary's not long after the formation of that settlement.

In 1823 the Rev. John Morgan, one of the missionaries stationed there, made a trip up that river in company with Major Grant. Some extracts from his journal were published in that year by the Society; but a paper written by him, entitled 'The Foulahs of Western Africa,' and printed in the 'Wesleyan Magazine' for 1834, gives a better view of his observations. It was during this voyage that his attention was first drawn to that people; they were first noticed by him at Cantaliconda, a Mandingo town near the Falls of Barraconda, which are probably about 300 miles from the sea, and not 800 or 1000 miles, as sometimes stated. "The Gambia," says Mr. Morgan, "is the noblest river I have ever seen; it averages not less than 2 miles across, at the distance of 300 miles from the sea. On this magnificent stream I sailed to Cantaliconda in a vessel that drew 8½ feet of water." His notice of some Foulahs on the shore, by their European features and comparatively light complexion, and the benevolent interest thus created, led him to make very particular inquiries into their condition. The result he thus states:—

"The Foulahs are now, and according to their own account have been from the days of their father, engaged in the breeding of cattle, in the growing of corn, and in hunting. They still retain the laborious disposition of their progenitor, and are the only industrious people that I saw in the country. Yet of all others they have the most to check and discourage their activity. It appears that their father had no land to give them, or else they have since lost it, for not one of them claims a foot of land in the country. They live by sufferance among the Mandingo and other tribes who have land, and by these people they are grievously oppressed. The Mandingoes are generally too idle to work in cultivating the ground; and, under the pretext of defending the Foulahs in war, they lay on them all the burden of the hard and laborious drudgery of raising the corn and working in the field. This oppressed race submit to the most arbitrary demands of the kings and chiefs, and to the wanton extortions of the kings' sons; who, although but little distinguished from slaves in appearance, make all under their power know that there is a great difference in their prerogatives. On the banks of the Gambia the condition of the Foulahs has been much improved since the abolition of the slave-trade by the English. In coming down the river Gambia in company with an old native slave merchant, he directed my attention to a number of Foulahs who were dancing by the water-side with the Mandingoes. He observed that it was a good thing for them that the English had abolished

* As therefore we are at variance with many recent missionary statements, we give our authority, which is, the second part of the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Sierra Leone, 1827.

the slave-trade; for when the ships used to come up their river for slaves, if a Foulah were found within a given distance from the river, a Mandingo would think himself justified in seizing him and selling him for a slave; but now they go where they please without fear. I was glad to learn from several of the kings and chiefs that there was but little done in the slave-trade in the immediate vicinity of the Gambia; but I fear that the case is different on the north toward the French settlement, and on the south toward the Portuguese. Having extended my knowledge of the Foulahs by observation and inquiry, I was led to conclude that they were the most worthy the attention of the philanthropist and of the Christian missionary of any I had seen, and, from various considerations, the most likely to derive benefit from their benevolent exertions. I determined, if my health were restored so as to admit of my continuing in Africa, to recommend them to the notice of our Missionary Committee, and strive to obtain permission to direct my whole attention to them. I saw, however, that but little comparatively could be done for them without procuring their deliverance from the iron yoke of the Mandingoes. There appeared no better way of accomplishing this than to obtain, if possible, from England the means of purchasing some islands of the king of Catubah, on which to form a settlement for them; or otherwise to get as many families of them as I could with me to Macarthy's Island, where the governor had promised me six hundred acres of land for the Society's use, and then to settle on the island, and visit as many of their towns among the Mandingoes as I could. But the loss of my health prevented my making the experiment. I saw, however, reason to believe that the whole tribe might soon be effectually released from their thraldom, brought under British government, and blessed with all the privileges of civilization and religious instruction. Knowing that very expensive institutions are laudably supported for the good of the afflicted Africans at Sierra Leone, I thought that if this project were fairly represented, it was not improbable that government, or some philanthropic society, might attempt to carry it into effect.

In coming down the country I fell in with the head-man of a Foulah town, and told him my thought on this subject, and asked his opinion as to the probability of their people availing themselves of the advantage of such an opportunity, if it offered. He answered that it could not be expected of one man to speak the sense of such a tribe as theirs, for they were numerous and widely extended. But he could confidently speak as to the sentiments of his people, that they would gladly embrace the first offer; for, said he, 'If we could get free from the Mandingoes we should soon be the richest people in all the world, except the white people. But,' he added, 'if you were to say such a thing was likely to take place, I must not say anything to my people about it; for they would not believe that white men have any care for them. Yet,' said he, 'we belong to the white people, we are not negroes.' I asked him how he claimed relation to the white people; and in answer he gave me the same history of their tribe as I had heard in the country, and which I have before stated. After I came down to the coast I fell in with a man of the Loubee tribe, who seemed steady and intelligent. I asked him if he knew anything of the relationship between their tribe and the Foulahs. He gave me the same information, except in one particular; he said the father of the two tribes was a white Moor; and observed, that though it took away something from the honour of their ancestor, it was yet true. The difference in the complexion of the Foulahs and Loubees, the former being of a red or copper colour, and the latter of a jet black, may be accounted for by the Loubees intermarrying with other tribes, to which the Foulahs are quite averse. Among the various acts of violence they endure from the Mandingoes, nothing seems to grieve them more than the indignity which they suffer when the kings and chiefs take away their young females; to which, I have been told, nothing will induce them to consent. This objection, I suppose, arises from a notion that they entertain of their own superiority in blood from their relation to the whites.

The first consideration which recommends them to the commiseration of the philanthropist is their oppressed condition, and the prospect of their deriving benefit from the means used for their improvement, on account of their industry, which distinguishes them from all with whom I was acquainted in the country. Secondly, the circumstance of their having no land, and

being oppressed by the Mandingoes, would dispose them to accept the offer of deliverance. Thirdly, they are free from Mohammedan religion, which is the strongest barrier against the spread of Christianity in Africa. Fourthly, they do not deal in slaves, and have no domestic slaves. They have besides a considerable prejudice in favour of Europeans, arising from the belief that the head of their tribe was a European."

By such statement a strong interest was created in behalf of the Foulahs, in the Wesleyan body; and several benevolent individuals agreed to bear for five years the charges of a special mission for their benefit. The spot recommended by Mr. Morgan, Macarthy's Island, was chosen for the station of this mission.

Mr. Dove, with two native assistants, John Cupidon and Pierre Salah [Jaloofs], were appointed to this station in the first instance, with instructions to itinerate among the Foulah towns on each bank of the river, preaching the Gospel and establishing schools wherever opportunity offered. This was in 1833, and by 1835 we find that operations had been commenced with vigour, and with encouraging prospects of success, as the Wesleyan Missionary Report for that year informs us. At two of the Foulah towns regular weekly services were held; and a Foulah school had been established, in which the people took such interest that several aged persons had commenced learning to read. A hundred persons [Foulahs?] had been admitted into the society. Mr. Dove dwells on the gratitude manifested by the people for their new privileges, and observes that he has seen their eyes suffused with tears when he has told them of the interest taken by Dr. Lindoe and other English Christians in their welfare. "Nor," he adds, "is this the only mode in which they express their gratitude. The Foulah is seen bringing his bullock and offering it in the service of the Lord, and the liberated African going in his leisure hours to the bush to gather firewood, or to the river to fish, that he may have somewhat to give towards sending the gospel, which has saved himself, to his parents and brethren."

It is further intimated that the benevolent gentleman named [Dr. Lindoe, of Southampton] was in treaty for an extensive tract of country to which the dispersed Foulahs should be invited to settle, and have the opportunity of devoting themselves to civilized pursuits; and also that he had intimated his readiness to promote the translation of the Scriptures into the Foulah tongue. From the extensive dispersion of the Foulahs and their wandering habits, it was deemed not too much to hope that when once the Scriptures were translated into their own tongue, they might become the bearers of "the living word" through a large part of Western Africa.

As already mentioned, the Rev. R. M. Macbriar was sent to make the necessary inquiries towards the end of 1835. From the valuable "Instructions" given to this missionary, the following sentences may be quoted:—

"The Mission at Macarthy's Island, upon the Gambia, although contiguous to the country of the Mandingoes, has been founded for the benefit of the Foulahs, primarily, and, ultimately, of the other tribes and nations of Western Africa.

The plan of translating the Scriptures into one or more principal African languages is an enlargement of the original design of the Foulah Mission. After such success had been vouchsafed to the infant mission as afforded encouragement to increased exertion, the translation of the Scriptures into either the Foulah or Mandingo language, or perhaps into both, became a very desirable object. Measures were accordingly adopted for commencing the undertaking; and to you, in the course of Divine Providence, is allotted the task of attempting to carry into execution the noble and Christian design.

In the prosecution of this work, although it is intended that the Mandingoes shall ultimately profit by it, yet you must steadily proceed upon the principle that your labours are to be made to bear, immediately and directly, upon the interests of the Foulahs; and the translation project must be made subservient to the original design of evangelizing the Foulahs in the first instance, and, afterwards, of benefiting, partly by their instrumentality, Western Africa in general.

On the subject of the language to be commenced with—whether you should apply yourself first to the Foulah or the Mandingo—it is not easy to decide until further investigation be made

upon the spot. The colour, features, manners, and traditions of the Foulahs unite in support of the opinion that they have had a different origin from the other negro nations of Western Africa; and they have unquestionably a language of their own, perhaps radically different from the Mandingo and the Jaloof: but it would appear, from the incidental notices of travellers, that the Foulah tribes, dispersed among the Mandingo people, use also the Mandingo language. The point, therefore, first to be ascertained is whether their own language has so fallen into disuse among the Foulahs, that the Mandingo is, in a great measure, substituted in its stead. Should this prove to be the case, it would then become a subject for serious consideration, whether you ought not to commence at once with the Mandingo language; and thus endeavour to accomplish at the same time the two objects of providing for the instruction of the Foulahs, and giving the word of God in a language generally understood throughout a vast extent of country. This might at once be decided upon as the better plan, were the Foulahs chiefly comprised in the scattered tribes found in the Mandingo territory; but there are important independent Foulah states, especially that of Fooladoo, further in the interior, to the eastward of Macarthy's Island, and the great kingdom of Foota-jallon, south of the Gambia. Nor is it to be forgotten that the Fellatahs of the countries through which the Niger flows are also supposed by some to be of the Foulah race. This consideration renders it desirable that additional information should be obtained respecting the language prevalent among the larger Foulah communities, before you determine as to the language in which first to attempt a translation of the word of God. In order to settle this question, you must, on your arrival in Africa, avail yourself of all the sources of information within your reach. Mr. Maer, at Sierra Leone, has been requested to furnish you with such notices as he can procure respecting the language and circumstances of the Foulahs contiguous to that colony. These people, it may be remarked, already occupy a place in the history of Wesleyan Missionary enterprise. The venerable Dr. Coke, in the year 1795, originated a plan for their benefit, in which that eminent philanthropist, Mr. Wilberforce, took a lively interest. Although, owing to circumstances which it is not necessary to detail, this scheme was ultimately frustrated, yet it will be very gratifying to the present generation of Methodists, should your inquiries and exertions prove conducive to the welfare of a people for whom the founder of their missions manifested so much solicitude. Having compared the result of your own researches with the opinions and statements of the most intelligent travellers, you must lay your conclusions, with the facts and reasonings upon which they are founded, before the Committee at home, who will then decide respecting the language into which you shall first attempt to translate at least the writings of the New Testament.

As soon as it has been determined whether the Scriptures shall be prepared for the Foulahs in their native tongue, or in the Mandingo, it will be proper for you to commence a Foulah school. For this you will find facilities upon the island: as about thirty Foulah families have already settled on the tract of land, containing six hundred acres, kindly granted by his Majesty's Government for the use of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Aided by the native missionaries, you will speedily prepare elementary books; and two advantages will result from your school operations: you yourself will learn while teaching others, and those whom you instruct will be found able to read the word of God when it shall be ready for their use. Arrangements for multiplying schools will be made in due time; as those who are anxious to give the Scriptures in the native tongue will feel the importance of raising up a people to whom the translation shall not remain a sealed book.

The liberality of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society has placed at your disposal a large supply of Arabic Scriptures, for which there is considerable demand in the interior. The acquaintance which you acquired, while in Egypt, with Mohammedanism, and your knowledge of the Arabic language, will enable you to meet the Marabouts (Mohammedan priests) with advantage; and when you are reminded that many of the Foulahs, in various parts of Western Africa, have been proselyted to Mohammedanism, which is gradually extending itself from the northern part of the continent, you will at once perceive that the distribution of the Arabic Scriptures will have an important bearing on the great work of evangelizing the Foulah people.

It may suffice further to remark, that should it be judged advisable to begin with the translation of the Scriptures into Foulah, a Mandingo translation must be undertaken afterwards as early as circumstances will possibly allow; but should you commence with the Mandingo, a translation for the use of the more distant Foulah states, if a separate one should prove necessary, might be delayed until access to them shall be obtained.

In order that you may have every advantage for the prosecution of your work, you will be exempted from all responsibility respecting the concerns of the mission generally, which would interfere with your own department of labour. You will be expected to preach on the Lord's-day, and at other times when convenient, and this you will be anxious to do; but your proper business, with which nothing must seriously interfere, will be the study of the language and the translation of the Scriptures.

In the prosecution of your undertaking you will have to practise great self-denial; to arm your mind with patience, and cherish the spirit of invincible perseverance. To be instrumental in giving the written Gospel to a large portion of the interesting population of Western Africa, is well worth the sacrifice of even a life. Go, then, in the spirit of entire devotion to the service of your Divine Master; influenced by an unquenchable zeal for his glory, and a yearning, melting pity for the sable millions of Africa who are perishing through lack of the word of life."

In the next year (1836) the Committee was able to report:—"The Foulah Mission continues to be prosperous; the plan for promoting the benefit of the Foulahs and contiguous tribes has been favourably commenced. Mr. Macbriar, formerly missionary in Egypt, has, in pursuance of his instructions, been engaged in collecting information respecting the language generally used by the Foulahs, and has already ascertained that even among the Foulah tribes of the Gambia in the Mandingo country, the Mandingo language is spoken only by the men, the women and children being unacquainted with it; and that a translation of the Scriptures to be extensively useful among them must in consequence be made in the Foulah language. He therefore proposes that as the Mandingo is the medium language through which alone he can obtain a knowledge of the Foulah, and as a translation of a portion of the Scriptures into that language will be beneficial to both the Mandingoes and the Foulahs to a certain extent, he will first prosecute the Mandingo language until he shall have translated into it the Four Gospels, after which, should his life be spared, he will devote himself to the study of the Foulah."

It appears that at this time between twenty and thirty Foulah families had settled on the lands granted to the Society; and no doubt was entertained that as soon as this oppressed people became sensible of the advantages of British protection the number would greatly increase.

With these encouragements we read, the next year (1837), with very great concern, that the *special* character of the Mission, as directed to the Foulahs, might be considered as at an end, and became merged in the *general* objects of the Mission established in Macarthy's Island. The Committee states:—

"The results which have already followed the establishment of this Mission are satisfactory and encouraging, although, in one respect, they are not precisely such as had been anticipated. The attention of the kind friends whose zeal and liberality originated the Mission, was especially directed to the pastoral Foulahs; and the hope was indulged that, were they brought under the influence of Christianity, they might be made the means of communicating it to other tribes and nations of Western Africa. The leadings of Divine Providence have not, however, been in exact accordance with this preconcerted plan. A door of usefulness has been opened, in the first instance, principally among the liberated Africans, several of whom have received the Gospel with thankfulness; and many circumstances combine to strengthen the probability that the influence of the Mission will not fully be brought to bear upon the Foulahs until the Gospel shall have been introduced to the tribes in whose territory they dwell, and by whom they are kept in a state of subjection."

In arriving at this conclusion, the Society was doubtless guided by satisfactory information;

but nothing is clearly stated to show the error of the calculation on which this interesting Mission was commenced, or to explain the causes of its virtual abandonment. We may remember, however, that the five years had nearly expired during which other parties had engaged to support the expenses of this Mission; and we may collect from Sir T. F. Buxton's book that the Foulahs were found to be unwilling to settle on the lands belonging to the Mission without distinct assurances of protection from the British power, which the weakness of the settlement on Macarthy's Island would not allow the missionaries to give.

The enlarged philanthropy of Dr. Lindoe and his friends, with whom the Foulah Mission originated, continued to manifest itself in endeavours to promote the temporal as well as spiritual welfare of the aborigines of Western Africa; and a new and separate committee was formed with the special object of furnishing those native Africans who might embrace the Gospel with the means of raising themselves to the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life. It was earnestly hoped that, by the exertions of this new committee, the work of civilization among the native converts on the Foulah mission would be promoted much more rapidly than by such comparatively scanty means as missionaries generally can command for this important object.

It should have been stated, that among the engines of civilization established by the Wesleyans in Macarthy's Island, is a press for the purpose of printing elementary books in the native languages. Some will say that this is bringing the large and costly machinery of our civilization to act on small and inadequate elements, which cannot (to use a technical expression) give it "bite." We do not ourselves, certainly, attach much importance to the presence or absence of a printing-press in the Gambia. The elementary books in question might, doubtless, be better *written* on the spot; but whether it be best to *print* them there or here, is at present a small question of prudential economy involving no principle or prospect of the least importance.

The Rev. W. Fox, missionary in Macarthy's Island, in a letter to the Society, notices a visit to the southern bank of the river, near Macarthy's Island, of "Habduriheem,* a powerful chief of the Foulah tribe, and of the Mohammedan creed, from the neighbourhood of Foota-jallon, or Teemboo. He was permitted to visit this island on Sunday last, bringing with him only about half a dozen of his people. He and his retinue came to chapel in the morning, and promised to come in the evening, as he was told we should hold service in the Mandingo language; but something at the time prevented. He, however, came in the afternoon, when we had a long conversation with him. He appears well versed in Arabic, and read the first and part of the second chapter of Genesis with ease, and asked a number of questions arising out of what he found in the Pentateuch.

This poor sinner is substantially a 'Saul of Tarsus;' and it was in vain to persuade him of the superiority of the Christian religion to that of the false prophet: when reasoned with upon the blessedness of a heartfelt religion, and the glorious prospect it gives to the believer beyond death and the grave, like the Jewish Rabbi, he exclaimed, 'How can these things be?' He said that he was a servant of God, and frequently went to war, and killed the Sonninkeas (pagans) to make them good; but he could not tell where he should go when he died—he left that to the disposal of the Almighty. We hesitated not to inform him of the evil and awful consequences of his murdering people without the least provocation whatever, assuring him that it was contrary to the law of God and men: all that he could say was, that Mohammed had told him to do so, and that Moses had frequently done so.

The following morning he again came to the Mission-house, when the conversation was partly as before, except that on this occasion he said that he only made war with those people that murdered his messengers when he sent them, and robbed his people of their goods when they were going to trade at some distant place; or unless he was called upon to go and assist some king against an enemy, then he also engaged in war. However, it is quite evident he frequently does it at other times also. He was entreated seriously to reflect on what we had said to him, as we should probably not see him again till the judgment-day.

* Perhaps ABDARACHEEM; or, "The Servant of the Merciful."

Having received some few presents from the authorities and merchants of the place and ourselves, he left about the middle of the day, but is still at Bruko, and this island continues to be patrolled and double-guarded by the soldiers and militia day and night. I have not much fear of his making an attack on this place, though, should he do so, I have little doubt but that he would be successful, as there is very little artillery, and the soldiers are very few in number. O when will the Gospel of peace put an end to the horrors of war, and the holy and hallowing influence of Christianity melt the fetters of the slave, and sweep away all the absurdities, superstitions, and cruelties of Mohammedanism?"

Another missionary (Rev. W. Swallow), writing in April the same year, reports that he was in the habit of visiting the Mandingo and Foulah towns. The inhabitants of the latter were so timid and suspicious that there seemed little hope of inducing them to become residents of the Mission ground. He adds, "On Tuesday week I was there, and they appeared unanimous in a proposition made by one of them—that we should go every Tuesday and tell them about God and the good book; observing, that if we would consent to that, they would be glad, and thank us."

We commenced the third chapter with an account of the Sieur Brue's voyage up the Senegal. The narrator of that voyage remarks, that "the soil is rich; and if the people were industrious they might with their own produce carry on a very advantageous trade with strangers. But," he adds, "IT IS TO BE HOPED THE EUROPEANS WILL NEVER LET THEM INTO THE SECRET!" Why not? From the just fear that a blow would be given to the slave-trade if the Africans should discover that a traffic in the products which their soil so abundantly and easily yields would, more certainly and happily than the trade in slaves, give them the means of attracting the white man to their shores, and of procuring from him the various commodities which they prize so highly.

It is very honourable to our time and our country that this fine secret which the whites of former times were so anxious to conceal from the blacks, is the very one which the English—governors, missionaries, travellers, officers—with uncommon unity of purpose, and with the most untiring diligence, have laboured to impress upon the African rulers, and are at this present moment making large and costly efforts to enforce. And this is done for the very reason that in former times created the wish that it never might be done—*that the trade in slaves may be superseded.* Blessed are those whose eyes have seen these things. Whatever objections be taken to particular measures or lines of action, it is quite evident that while there is a demand for slaves on the African coast that demand will be supplied, unless we can convince the African that in selling man into foreign bondage he sells the strength of his country; and that the products of his soil afford him the means of procuring from all the markets of the world the goods which he has already learned to want, or which his more improved condition may demand. Africans, equally with the "Circassian, Mongolian, and Malayan varieties,"—man, everywhere, is keenly alive to his own interests; and if we can convince him that his condition would be bettered instead of worsened by the discontinuance of the slave-trade, that trade would receive a mortal wound.

The disposition of the Foulahs, in particular, to entertain these views—indeed, that such views have, to some extent, been forced upon them, in some quarters, by the circumstances which have tended to lessen or take away the trade from their countries—is evinced by some of the preceding statements; and, to our minds, nothing is more touching than to hear persons who might have seemed as much as any could be interested in the continuance of the trade, avowing their sense of the benefits which have arisen or may be expected from its decline. The abolition of the slave-trade is not now in any sense an experiment of doubtful benefit to *any* of the parties interested.

The Gambia was formerly a great mart for slaves. The population along its banks are now eager for lawful commerce, in which alone they are now engaged. The trade is extended about four hundred miles up the river; and a new and lucrative branch has lately been opened in gum. The only exception to this cheering picture occurs in the French settlement at Al-

breda, where still some slaves are said to be harboured, obtained from natives in the interior, and sent overland afterwards to Goree. The slave-trade is, however, so small and declining at Albreda, that the exception may be almost said to prove the rule; because it shows that though a European establishment exists, ready to trade in slaves, it does not flourish against the rivalry of a legal commerce.

Our former acquaintance, Mr. Macbriar, in a paper furnished by him to Sir T. F. Buxton, ascribes the abolition of the slave-trade on the Gambia to two causes: first, to the vicinity of the British colony; and, secondly, to the existence of a good market for the produce of the soil. The change effected by these circumstances Mr. Macbriar thus describes:—"Culture is more practised in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, where affairs are now comparatively peaceful. Before the abolition of the slave-trade there were considerable factories here; and one native merchant, now at St. Mary's, was sold no less than three times by another who resides in the same place. One of the kings also is said to have 'seized and disposed of some of his subjects, whenever he wanted a horse, a wife, or other purchasable commodity.' But now that the slave-market is abolished, and the natives can find a ready market for the produce of their lands by means of the British merchants, the cultivation of the soil increases every year; and the aborigines have been heard to say, that they now wish they had their slaves back again, because they could get more by their labours in husbandry than they did by selling them to Europeans."

CHAPTER VII.

THE JALOOFS.

THE Jaloofs are a people mostly found between the Senegal and Gambia, in or near the countries whose inhabitants we have already considered. They are dominant in the kingdoms of Bourb-Jaloof, Baol, and Kayor; and they form a large proportion of the population in the territories of Bondou, Pisami, and Salum. In fact, all their territories lie between the Foulah kingdoms and the sea; and the greater part of the "outside" country, between the two rivers, is in their possession.

From the position of the Jaloofs on the coast, and upon the lower banks of the great rivers Senegal and Gambia, they were the first negro nation with which the progress of discovery in Western Africa brought Europeans acquainted.

The spirit of discovery and of maritime enterprise, which first awoke in Portugal, and which led to the brilliant results with which every one is acquainted, was, among the Portuguese themselves, considerably under subordination to a wild desire to discover the renowned "Prester John"—a Christian king, ruling over a great country of Christians, with which the religious feeling of the time rendered the Christians of the West very anxious to open a fraternal intercourse. Of this famous hunt after Prester John, we shall hereafter find a more suitable occasion to speak. It will suffice for our present purposes to intimate that a belief ultimately gained ground (founded on some reports respecting Abyssinia) that this Prester John reigned in the *East* of Africa. This gave a fresh impulse to discovery on the *Western* coast, and roused a burning desire to penetrate inland from the west. This may seem odd; but, believing the breadth of the African continent to be much narrower than it really is, they argued that if the kingdom of Prester John were so great as they had been led to conclude, it must penetrate so far inland from the East, that the easiest and most obvious way to its interior border was to advance inland from the west, by the help of the great rivers which penetrate the continent in that direction. This belief, and the researches which resulted from it, probably gave the Portuguese a knowledge of Western Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries very little inferior to that which *we* only now possess. But the reserve of the Portuguese government has, in this and other instances, prevented the public from being acquainted with the full extent of the information which it in those ages acquired.

Cadamosto, the celebrated Venetian commander, who made many discoveries on this coast under the patronage of Don Henry, Infant of Portugal, was perhaps the first who became acquainted with this people. Arriving at the Senegal,* Cadamosto was much struck by the marked differences on the opposite sides of the river. On the one (the south) side the inhabitants were well proportioned, very black, and the soil exceedingly fertile; whereas on the other (north) the inhabitants were meagre, small, brown, and the ground nearly barren. He notes that the inhabitants of the banks and from thence to the Gambia were called Jaloofs, and the whole country (generally) *Jaloof*. The first king (of Wallo probably) whom he knew had thirty wives.

Cadamosto next visited *Bu-Domel*, meaning Damel or Kayor. His observations here perfectly agree with those more amply reported by the Sieur Brue and other French writers; for which we may refer to the next following chapter, which is especially devoted to Kayor. The peculiarly reverential ceremony with which the King of Damel was approached by his subjects

* This name (Sanaga, properly) was that of the Jaloof king then reigning in the island, and which, for want a better, was given to the river. As it is a good name, there is no reason to regret that it has since been retained.of

engaged the special notice of the adventurers. It appears the Moslem faith had already (1455) become prevalent in the country. The king made no difficulty of allowing Cadamosta to enter the mosque during the time of prayer, which was conducted in the usual manner. Our adventurer describes himself as engaging in a controversial discussion with one of the Marabouts, and as being heard willingly by the king, who, he thought, might have been easily brought over to profess Christianity, but for the fear of losing his crown. The king, however, declared that he thought it harder for a Christian to be saved than a negro; for God was just and good; and, seeing that he had given to the whites so many of the good things of this world, and to the negroes nothing in comparison, it was but reasonable to expect that the latter were destined to receive their portion of good things in the world to come. This argument is precisely that which occurs in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus:—"Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."—Luke, xvi. 25.

The negroes, having never seen a white man before, came around Cadamosto in great numbers, marvelling greatly at his strange apparel, and still more at the whiteness of his complexion. Some of them moistened their fingers in their mouths, and rubbed his skin to ascertain whether its hue were natural or not; and were beyond measure astonished to find that it was indeed no dye or paint.

Concerning the new objects of notice which our adventurers presented to them, they made the strange and amusing mistakes which naturally arise among a superstitious and ignorant people, possessing no previous materials for those comparisons in which alone correct judgments can be founded. Guns seemed to them, from their hideous noise, to be of the devil. Bagpipes they thought to be a living creature, that thus poured forth its varying accents; but when they were allowed to handle the instrument, they thought it to be some heavenly thing, that God had made with his own hands, to sound so sweetly. The ship which had borne Cadamosto upon the wide waters was regarded with great wonder. The eyes painted upon the prow they took to be real eyes, by which the caraval could see what course to take across the waters. Yet, nevertheless, comparing their own laborious and difficult journeys by land, with the ease and speed with which the whites traversed "the great and wide sea," they were not willing to allow that such voyages could be accomplished without aid from the powers of darkness. The burning of a candle at night excited much surprise; for they did not themselves use any other light at night than that of their fires. Honey they had in plenty; but when they had sucked out the combs they hurled away the wax as useless, until our adventurers taught them how to make candles with it. We cannot learn that the use of wax candles has been continued in this part of Africa. In fact, candles of any sort cannot well be used in hot climates: oil burned in lamps is the only proper and convenient light for them.

We may now introduce the reader more generally to an acquaintance with the Jaloof nation.

In their persons the Jalofs differ very much from the Mandingoes and other blacks. They are blacker in complexion, but, at the same time, of much more regular features; indeed, for blackness of complexion, handsome form, and regularity of features, few Africans come near them. Their features are cast more in the European than the negro mould; and their standard of beauty is, except as to colour, the same as in Europe. They admire a small, well-proportioned nose, little mouth, thin lips, with a gentle pouting in the under lip, and lively eyes: and as people fix their ideas of beauty by reference to what they frequently see among themselves, the Jaloof notions of beauty evince the marked distinction between them and other negroes. Generally (as described by Mr. W. Singleton, of the Society of Friends) the Jaloof is rather tall, plump, of fine-turned limbs, short curling hair, and shining jet-black skin. He is also distinguished by the cleanness of his person and habits, as compared with both the Foulah and Mandingo; and it is probably from this cause more than from any other, that the offensive smell so generally ascribed to the blacks is less perceptible in them than in any other negroes.

The odious custom of bringing the fore or incisor teeth to a sharp point is very common

among the Jaloofs, as in many other African races. In effecting this, they place beneath the tooth a thin flat piece of iron; a sharp-edged knife is then laid edgewise upon the upper surface of the tooth, and a pretty smart blow is given to it with a piece of wood, by which a part of the tooth is chipped off: this is repeated until the tooth is made perfectly sharp, in which consists the chief beauty. They do not complain of much pain from the operation, nor are they, as we should expect, afterwards subject to any uneasy sensations in the teeth thus roughly dealt with, when drinking hot or cold liquids. This practice is followed by both men and women. The chief reason for it is found in the notion of its being ornamental; but they also allege that they do it to allow room for the teeth to grow: but that there is no foundation for this notion is evinced by the fine and regular teeth of the nations which do not follow this barbarous practice.

The men in this and many other nations have marks made upon the forehead and temples, by means of needles, and rubbed over with gunpowder, or the juice of a fruit tree, which leaves an indelible stain. The women also sometimes mark their faces after this fashion. But there is a sort of tatooing peculiar to the sex, and which is almost the only kind retained by the Moslem negroes, as the interpreters of the Mohammedan law discourage the practice among the men. This sort of operation is called *sora*, or *saccalla*; it is used upon the back, breast, abdomen, and arms, forming a variety of figures upon the skin, which appears as if embossed. The figures intended to be represented are first drawn upon the skin with a bit of stick dipped in wood-ashes, after which the line is divided by a sharp-pointed knife. The wound is then healed as quickly as possible, by washing it with an infusion of bullanta. This operation is performed by any one who possesses sufficient skill to make the attempt. This custom has very generally prevailed among rude nations, and is of such antiquity as to be mentioned in the time of Moses. In his time and country it appears to have been in use to denote grief and lamentation for the dead; and also to imply that persons thus marked had devoted themselves to the particular idol whose symbols they bore. Hence, doubtless, such prohibitions as "Ye shall not cut yourselves nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Lev. xiv. 1.) And again—"Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, *nor print any marks upon you.*" (Lev. xix. 28.)

It may seem difficult to account for the origin of a people so much distinguished in their persons as the Jaloofs from other and closely neighbouring negro nations. The accounts on which Mollien relies assign their origin to the same quarter as the Foulahs—northern Africa; and give the same account of their progress to and beyond the Senegal. In short, the two peoples are associated in the same historical statement. We know of no other hypothesis before the public, and we have no new one to offer. Their black complexion, and some approximations to the aboriginal negroes, may be accounted for by the intermixtures which have produced analogous effects among some of the Foulah nations. In the habits of the people there are indications that their original condition of life was more sedentary than that of the Foulahs.

Concerning the character and habits of the Jaloofs, there are such differing statements, that instead of considering the accounts contradictory, we shall adduce them under the several Jaloof kingdoms to which they refer; as it is obvious that variations quite as considerable as those to which we allude may be occasioned by differences of situation—on the coast, or inland—and by differences of soil and government.

Mr. William Singleton, whom we have just mentioned, received a less favourable character of the Jaloofs from the captain with whom he sailed some 250 miles up the Gambia:—"The captain's opinion of the Jaloofs is not a favourable one. He says they are liars and thieves. They are dreaded by other nations, because more expert than they in war, in which they employ much cavalry. They pay little attention to trade, and are of a jealous disposition. One who had heard him express this opinion added to it, 'Ah! when a Jaloof has said good morning to you, he has said his last good word for the day.'" This estimate of character may be true of those of the Jaloofs on the coast with whom captains of ships have the means of becoming acquainted—including Kayor. It too often happens that by our own, intended or unintended,

line of action upon a people, we produce a sort of conduct which the ordinary circumstances of their life and sentiments would not have developed; and then it seems rather harsh to sit down and write this as the essential and real character of the people. This is what often occurs in private life and private judgments; and by the mistake and wrong in the smaller instance, with which we are more familiar, we are the better able to estimate its effect in the greater.

In the character thus given we, ourselves, discover traces of the ruinous effects which infallibly follow from the contact of different conditions of life with each other, when separate from those Christian influences which alone can render such intercourse safe and happy. Of this we have spoken in the Introduction, and need not return to it now. The difference between the Jaloofs and other natives of the sea and river coasts of Africa, and those more inland, appears to be similar to the difference between the Arab in his own desert, and the Arab in the settled countries of Egypt and Syria—and in both instances from the operation of the same or analogous causes.

Mr. William Singleton himself got another and better character of the Jaloofs from another authority:—"John Dodds," writes our Friend, "spoke highly of the disposition of the Jaloofs, as affectionate, mild, peaceable, and patient; and represented the blacks in general as much disposed to forgive injuries, except on the day when they meet annually to sing, &c., and excepting, too, the injury of cursing, which a Jaloof finds it almost impossible to forgive. 'Don't curse me!' is a very common exclamation at the commencement of a quarrel; and 'He cursed me' as frequent an apology in the termination of it."

We understand the former character as applicable, then, to the people near the sea or rivers, who have intercourse with Europeans; and the latter as referable to those natives of the more interior states who have little intercourse with whites. With this understanding, the two characters are sufficiently in agreement with those given by other writers.

This distinction may be observed in the old writers. The French, who chiefly knew the Jaloofs of Kayor and vicinity of the Senegal, paint them quite as "black" as William Singleton's captain; whereas the English, who knew them chiefly near the Gambia, in which they lie more inland and engage less in traffic, throw some hues of light on their portraitures. We would therefore counsel our readers, in perusing characters of the Jaloofs, to take note of the country in which the party travelled, and from which his impressions were drawn.

The Abbé Dumanet,* a French (Catholic) missionary, of the last century, who spent some years labouring among the Senegal negroes, and especially the Jaloofs, gives a very good account of the Senegal Jaloofs generally (including those of Kayor), and it will save us much space to adduce the leading facts recorded by him; reserving the duty of pointing out afterwards the *peculiar* traits by which the natives of the several Jaloof kingdoms are distinguished from one another. As usual, we incorporate with Dumanet's statement, and add to it from other sources, information which other travellers have supplied.

Whether from insensibility or courage, the Jaloofs (as well as other negroes of the Senegal) support the extremest pains with patience. The Abbé had seen them endure the utmost bodily suffering and the most cruel tortures without a groan. Naturally of a lively and cheerful temperament, the Jaloof is also very thoughtless, never caring about a provision for future wants. So lazy are they, that they will hardly work but by constraint, or in order to procure the strictest necessities of life. Correspondingly, Mollien says: "When the harvest is over, the Jaloof negroes remain for nine months lying on their mats, and fill up their time with conversation. Fishing is the only employment in which the seasons produce no relaxation for the inhabitants of the coast. But as idleness is honoured in these countries, just as ignorance was among our forefathers in the first ages of our monarchy, it is obvious that necessity alone impels the Jaloof to labour." A fine sentence, and, as often happens with fine sentences, meaning little:—labour is pain; especially in a warm climate; and from no other spur than necessity does any man labour. Labour is the price of enjoyment: and man labours most where the standard of his

* Nouvelle Histoire de l'Afrique Française; par M. l'Abbé Dumanet, ci-devant curé et aumônier en Afrique. Paris, 1767.

wants and the *security of his enjoyments* are the highest. In Africa, and in many other countries, *both* have been very low—the lowest possible, perhaps; and the African is called idle because he has little to labour for, and no security in the enjoyment of that for which he labours. We shall show before we have done that even the "lazy African" can labour with diligence when adequate motives are placed before him.

Without such motives the Jaloofs certainly do spend their time in idleness or in amusements, especially dancing, which forms their principal enjoyment. Riding and exercising with arms are their diversions; but dancing is their passion. No sooner does the goulah sound his drum than every one is animated, and tries to follow the movements of the instrument by a thousand evolutions made in cadence: the dancers keep time by clapping their hands. The spectators, to encourage them, throw their garments at their feet, as the most signal token of their admiration. Lasciviousness is said to characterise these dances. The ball commences with the night; the moon furnishes light, and day-break puts an end to it, and invites the musicians and dancers to repose. "Thus," writes Dumanet, "the youth of the negro is spent in pleasures which form the grand obstacle to his conversion. In middle age he devotes himself, as far as his physical wants allow, to the most absolute inaction; and thus he arrives at old age without any consciousness of time misemployed—without any remorse for the past, or without any apprehensions of the future. The fewness of his wants explains easily his indifference for wealth. So that he can live from day to day, and has enough of rice and millet, he has all; and if to this he can add a little brandy, life has nothing left him to desire. The habit of going almost naked, the simplicity of his huts of reeds or straw, equally relieve him from all inquietude respecting his clothing and lodging."

This picture of the Jaloof's progress to old age reminds us of a remark of Adanson regarding the premature old age of the negroes. Mentioning the chief of the village of Sor, he describes him as "a venerable old man, about fifty, with a grey beard and hoary locks. When I call him an old man of fifty (he adds), this is because the negroes of the Senegal are really old at the age of forty-five, and oftentimes sooner: and I remember to have heard the French inhabitants of Senegal say several times, that, according to the best of their observation, the negroes of that country seldom lived to be older than sixty." This observation is confirmed by other writers, and various are the causes to which it has been ascribed. The fact is, however, open to very large exceptions, and we find that Golberry estimates the period of *extreme* old age among the negroes at from sixty-five to seventy.

The Abbé Dumanet assures us that larceny and theft are no crimes in the eyes of the Senegal Jaloofs. By this we are, no doubt, to understand that they are not considered criminal when practised against strangers. They do not rob one another. The huts of the natives remain open all day long without a single article being ever stolen. Their character for dextrous thieves, indeed, forms an ample theme in Barbot, Labat, Le Maire, and other old writers on this part of Africa. They join in characterising *the inhabitants of the parts which the Europeans frequent* as the greatest thieves in nature. They have the address to steal from Europeans before their face, while smiling and talking with them, without being perceived. Barbot noticed them making use of their feet in these employments, while their hands have been busied in some obliging office. Labat confirms this, telling us that it is not upon the hands only, but upon the feet of the Jaloofs in these parts that Europeans must fix their eyes: for, from the habit of going barefoot, they acquire nearly the same dexterity with these members as Europeans with their hands, and will even pick up a pin from the ground with their toes. If they chance to see a knife, scissors, or toy, that attracts their inclinations, they will turn their backs to it, engage you in conversation, and slily seize it between their toes, with which they have the art of throwing it into a kind of pouch which they wear behind. These knaves of the coast do not deal much more honestly with their less wily countrymen who come from the interior to trade on the coast. The maritime negroes immediately offer their services to carry their goods, which they seldom quit before they have stolen half, while the owner stands fixed in utter bewilderment by what "conjuration and mighty magic" he should be so great a loser, while his eyes have never been taken from his property. Much of this may be seen *now*; but it

was in the days of those older writers, when the slave-trade was in full and active operation, that the full effects of a demoralizing intercourse and demoralizing commerce were manifested in the utmost vigour. Where their great address as thieves failed in securing for them the objects they desired, they scrupled not to resort to force, assassination, and the most cruel murders. To such a degree of barbarity was their avarice carried, that it was not unusual for them to sell their own fathers, mothers, children, and neighbours. Barbot gives many examples of this; but one that Le Maire gives is more remarkable in the details:—An old negro, intending to sell his son, sent him with a load to the French factory; but the young man, suspecting his father's design, resolved to outwit him, and he accordingly hastened to the factor and struck a bargain with him for the sale of his old parent; who, on his arrival to sell his son, was struck with amazement to find himself seized as the property of the factor. The old man cried out that he was the father of the monster who had sold him; but the son swore vehemently that it was false, and the bargain remained firm. The son returned home exulting, with the price of his father's liberty; but, unhappily for him, he was met by the chief of the district, who despoiled him of his ill-gotten riches, and carried him off for sale to the same person who had just before bought the father. From the same authorities we learn that a number of children were daily kidnapped by their neighbours, who found them strolling in the woods, or engaged in driving away the birds from the cornfields and plantations; and in times of great scarcity many negroes sold themselves, in order to be assured of bread, and made no scruple of disposing of their children for a few handsful of rice.

These horrid practices have since nearly, if not entirely, ceased among the Jaloof nations; but are still continued with as much or more than their former atrocity and vigour in those countries, more to the south, which have now become the active seats of the slave-trade. Such facts form a most impressive comment upon the text of the psalmist—"The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

So far from considering them of a forgiving disposition, as "John Dodds" alleges, Dumanet says that vengeance for a real or supposed wrong is so strong a passion among this people that they sometimes commit suicide when circumstances preclude them from compassing the death of their enemy. And we are the rather inclined to believe this—forgiveness having never been a barbarian virtue. "Their friendship burns with the same degree of heat," says Dumanet: "Their friendship is cold and interested," says Mollien; but the seeming contradiction is reconcilable by the fact that the former speaks of the relation as existing between themselves, while the latter refers to their feelings towards the whites.

We scarcley need be told that the Jaloofs are hospitable, for all barbarians and savages are so; but no hospitality can be more generous or gracious than theirs, when their limited resources are considered. It might seem as if nothing they possessed was their own, but that all things are in common. Whether he be a black or a white, known or unknown, who presents himself at the entrance of a hut, he is sure to be cordially received: and it is more from curiosity than from the desire to make any distinction that they ask the traveller whence he came and whither he is going. Palm wine or milk is presented to him for his refreshment, and tobacco for him to smoke; and when the hour of meat arrives he is invited to take his part, and a bed is afterwards prepared for his repose. And all this is done without price.

The condition of the women among the Jaloofs differs in no material respect from that of women generally in this part of Africa. We prefer therefore to furnish the reader with such a general statement as will leave it only necessary to notice afterwards the lesser distinctive usages which may occur.

The reader has already had ample occasion to see that woman does not in Africa enjoy that distinguished place in society which she is in Europe entitled to claim. Montesquieu proposes the more or less perfect use of money as the standard of civilization, and other standards have been suggested by other writers; but we have no doubt that the test which is the least open to failure or mistake is the position which woman holds in the system we survey. We have insisted on this already, and shall therefore only proceed to repeat that, in Africa, women are looked upon as beings of a very inferior nature, and as born to be the slaves of man. They are

not allowed to eat at the same table, but must wait until their lord has finished his repast, when they may feast on the scraps which he has left. All the drudgery of the family devolves upon them. They not only cook and wash, beat rice in mortars and cleanse it from the husk, but they cut down the underwood, assist in hoeing the ground, and they also carry the produce to market. The only labour from which they are excused is that of felling the larger wood to make a plantation, and rowing the canoes. In places near the sea they are also busied in making salt, although this is generally the business of women who are advanced in years, and of infirm old men.

Polygamy is universally practised upon this coast, and this tends still further to debase the sex. Every man has as many wives as his circumstances will allow him to maintain: his wealth is therefore estimated according to this criterion, and he rises in the esteem of his neighbours according to the number of his women. If you ask a negro whether another be rich, you are not answered that he has much land, many slaves, or many cattle, but, "Oh, yes: he has many women!" The husband is at liberty, however, to employ his wives in the manner most advantageous for his own interests, and it is not uncommon to station some of them in different parts of the country as factors—an office which they are said to execute with great fidelity and tact.

The ancient custom of purchasing the wife may be said in some measure to exist here, although the payment seldom amounts to more than a small present of clothes to the father or guardian, together with some tobacco or rum for an entertainment. The consent of the woman is scarcely necessary in making the contract, which is concluded by the husband and father with very little ceremony. These marriages are not, however, indissoluble; as, in case of ill usage from the husband, the woman, if free and of a powerful family, may call a palaver, and be separated from him. Although the source of many and obvious evils, polygamy does not produce those violent commotions in families which we might be led to apprehend. The women are so much accustomed to the practice, by habit and education, that the introduction of a new and younger rival scarcely excites any emotion of jealousy among them. The first wife which a man takes, if she bears a male child, enjoys a greater share of respect than the others: she sustains the title of head-woman, together with an enviable degree of authority long after her personal attractions have disappeared. She cannot be repudiated for any other crime than adultery: she is the real mistress of the family; and if her family is of any distinction, she knows well how to assert the privileges which are her due. Yet even she is, as to the husband, only the *most* trusted of his slaves, and may not, any more than the others, eat in his presence.

Like the Hebrew women of old, the negresses suckle their children for two or three years, or until the child is able to bring the mother a calabash full of water. The care of her children devolves entirely upon the mother; and that her duties towards the infant may in no degree be interfered with until it is somewhat able to take care of itself, the mother lives during this period quite separate from the husband. This partly accounts for the fact that it is a rare occurrence in Africa to find a woman who is the mother of more than three or four children. This does not appear to be occasioned by their leaving off child-bearing so very early in life as is said to be the case in some warm climates. Dr. Winterbottom assures us that he has known women have children who were not younger than thirty-five or forty. Women are betrothed at a very early age, and *even before they are born;* but the marriage seldom if ever takes place before the fourteenth year, and no woman in this part of Africa appears to bear children before that age.

Notwithstanding the low estimation in which women are usually held in Africa, the men are generally named after their mothers:—thus *Fenda Modoo* is Modoo or Mohammed the son of Fenda, and *Namina Modoo* is Mohammed the son of Namina; and the same is the case with females—*Kalee Namina*, for instance, being Namina the daughter of Kalee. This practice arises, without doubt, from the practice of polygamy, which renders it more convenient to distinguish a number of children of the same family by the names of their several mothers than to give all of them the name of their father. Another reason for this practice may be found in the warmth

of filial affection, which, wherever polygamy prevails, is much stronger towards the mothers than the fathers. Nothing can be more gratifying than to observe the strong attachment in this country between mothers and their sons; and this, with the consideration which it gives when the son advances in life, is one sweet drop in the bitter cup which the woman of Africa has to drink.

To the above information respecting names we may now add, that among the Jaloofs, and other Moslems, the most frequent names of men are Mamadoo (Mohammed), Ali, Brama (Abraham); and of the women, Amina, or, as they pronounce it, Námina, Fatima, Maimoona, Henda. The Foulahs, it may be added, frequently employ an affix, which, like the Italian diminutive, implies prettiness, tenderness, &c., as Fatimatta, Isatta, Aminatta, Sallematta. Among the Pagans of this quarter the most common female names are Simba, Sillia, Yamba, Lorana, Tilla, Yellee, Kai, Bai. Nicknames are sometimes given expressive of the person's disposition, as Pa Cacadooga, great belly; Pa Toffin, can't talk, or won't talk.

The women are fond of dress, but are less disposed than the men to abandon their native costume, and to don every bit of European finery of which they can obtain possession. This native costume is very simple: a large cotton cloth wrapped around the waist and descending to the ankles, like a petticoat, forms its chief article. The arms and upper part of the person are left exposed, although sometimes, to guard against cold, and, perhaps, to display a little finery, a second cloth, or large kerchief, is carelessly thrown over the shoulders. Sometimes, under particular circumstances, it is thrown over the head like a veil, and comes down upon the shoulders, in which, from the effect, it is less pleasing than in the other. But the head is generally, and the feet always, uncovered. Many women wear small bells attached to their ankles, and when dancing iron rings are placed around the legs, which being partly hollow, with small pellets inside, produce a jingling noise. These, perhaps, resemble "the tinkling ornaments about their feet," which Isaiah (iii. 18) describes as among the ornaments of the Jewish ladies of old. They are all fond of ornaments, such as beads, corals, &c., which they wear in their ears and around their neck, waist, and ankles. Those who can afford it have likewise pieces of gold and silver around their necks, and wear upon their arms large silver rings, or bracelets, called *manillas*, to the number of eight or ten, or even more, on each arm. These are not complete circles, a part being left out for the convenience of introducing the wrist. Women belonging to the great men have often trinkets of not less value than twenty guineas upon their persons.

The children go entirely naked until the age of two or three years; but they are not left without ornaments. The hair is neatly plaited, and a string of coral beads, a dollar, or some French or English coin of silver, is hung around the neck, ankles, or wrists. From three or four years of age until thirteen or fourteen, or even older, the only dress worn by girls is a piece of narrow cloth, three or four inches broad, called a *tuntungee*, somewhat like the T bandage of surgeons. This passes between the thighs and over a string fastened around the waist, the ends of the cloth hanging down before and behind nearly as low as the feet. The dress of the boys of the same age is nearly the same, only that the ends of the cloth do not hang loose. This tuntungee distinguishes the girl from the married woman, and it is very common, when speaking of their husband, to say that "he gave them a cloth" to denote that he took them when girls. A parallel Scriptural phrase in the request of Ruth to Boaz—"Spread thy skirt over thine handmaid."

Both men and women take great pains with their hair, which they plait and braid in a great variety of fashions, and with singular neatness. Before the men start upon a journey it is usual with them to spend several hours in having their hair dressed by the women, which is done with such closeness and exactness, that it preserves for two or three weeks the form which it receives.

The African females are not less sensible than the European ladies of a former day of the effect to be obtained from artificial colours in setting off their complexions, although, it is true, they are somewhat differently employed. The colours used by the negro women are red, white, and blue. The two former are from native clays; the latter is Prussian blue, purchased from

Europeans. These substances are ground very smooth, with a little water, between two stones, and then applied to the forehead and other parts with the tips of the fingers, or by means of a small piece of stick cut like a pencil. With this they form circles, triangles, squares, parallelograms, or fancy figures, according to the taste of the wearer.

Thus variously, although the articles of dress be so few, the business of the toilet is of sufficient importance to require the aid of a looking-glass. And this is a utensil which the negro women seldom lack; but when they do, water in a convenient vessel supplies its place.

The women of this part of Africa in general, and the Jaloof women in particular, are remarkable for the nice and even fastidious attention which they give to the cleanliness of their persons. They wash several times a day; and to preserve the velvety smoothness and softness of their skins they anoint themselves daily with the oil of the palm, which at the same time serves the purpose of checking excessive perspiration, and of guarding against cold. Ladies in good circumstances use the oil obtained from the butter-tree, which has no particular smell, like that of the oil-palm, and is on that ground justly preferred. With these oils is generally mixed a gummy substance which possesses a musky scent, which is considered agreeable by those accustomed to it; and yet it seems that it is to the perfuming substance which they mix with their anointing oils that the Africans owe that peculiar smell of which some travellers complain.

The two species of the palm whose roots afford the oils mentioned in the preceding paragraph are represented in the annexed engraving.

[*Elaïs guineensis, Cocos butyracea.*]

The male Jaloofs usually shave the head and upper lip, but wear the beard as long as it will grow. Their dress is very simple, for all that is useless is troublesome in this scorching climate. Two pieces of cotton cloth compose their apparel. One is tied round the waist and

hangs down below the calf of the leg; the other, thrown carelessly over one shoulder, leaves the other uncovered. The chiefs wear wide drawers or trousers, usually of a yellowish colour, and a cotton shirt; either instead of, or in addition to, these two pieces of cotton stuff, according to the season. It appears, however, that the poor, or persons engaged in any labour, are content with a strip of cotton cloth, passed between the thighs and attached before and behind to a cord which is passed around the loins as a girdle. Sandals of leather, consisting of a sole fastened to the upper part of the foot by thongs, are very commonly worn, to protect the feet from the heated soil.

The art of cookery is in a very imperfect state among the Jaloofs and other negroes of the Senegal and Gambia. It is almost limited to the preparation of millet, which is abundant in all this part of Africa, and furnishes the principal nourishment of the natives. This preparation is in the frequently-mentioned form of *Kouskous:* for this use the millet is pounded in wooden mortars, and when broken, or reduced to a sort of flour, it is passed through a sieve to separate the grain from the chaff. With this flour they make a kind of paste, which is stirred unceasingly during the dressing, that it may not be converted into bread or biscuit; this continued motion separates the parts of the flour and forms it into little balls, hard and dry, like small shot. If care be taken to protect it from moisture, this may be kept for a long time. When intended to be used, the globules are watered with hot or boiling water, which softens them, and makes them swell up like rice. Such is kouskous, which forms a nourishment light, refreshing, and easy of digestion. Dumanet assures us that the negroes who use this food regularly, and who have enough of it, are fat and fresh, are generally free from diseases, and, if they keep themselves from immoral excesses, live to a good old age.

Sanglet, the other preparation, takes more time—usually six hours—as it goes at once through all the processes, through part of which kouskous may pass at any time before it is wanted. The women begin at break of day to pound the millet in their deep wooden mortars—which operation, like grinding in the East, always devolves on the women, and is in both cases the first labour of the morning. When the grain has lost its husk it is winnowed with fans of palmetto leaves, after which it is boiled in milk, broth, or water, with butter, meat, or dried fish; and, with these combinations, is of course a more luxurious mess than the kouskous.

The Jaloofs, like other African Moslems, eat only those animals that chew the cud. A Foulah being asked what was the greatest crime he could commit, answered, "The eating of pork, especially if it were the flesh of a boar." They are also very particular in adhering to the Jewish precept, "Flesh with the blood thereof ye shall not eat;" and, like the Jews, they never eat meat unless it be killed by one of their own religion, which is always done by cutting the throat of the animal, pronouncing at the same time the prayer *Bismillah*, "In the name of God." They are equally scrupulous in avoiding to eat "of anything that dieth of itself;" a command which to a delicate European may appear unnecessary, as being of itself sufficiently disgusting. The necessity of such a law is, however, pointed out by the practice of the Timanees, Bullooms, and other pagan Africans, who eat without scruple the flesh of animals without regard to the manner in which they died, and even when far gone in putrefaction. Indeed they prefer it after decomposition has commenced; but the Mohammedans in general kill their meat immediately before it is wanted: yet we find, that among the natives of warm climates, whose fare is chiefly vegetable, it is considered a culpable extravagance for people to kill their cattle for food, except on high festal occasions. They are content with what they take in hunting, or poultry, or fish; and generally are satisfied with a little butter, oil, or fat, to lubricate their messes of boiled grain, or with such matters as will impart a savoury flavour to them.

They generally take two meals a day—in the cool of the morning and of the evening. The meal is laid out upon the floor on a mat in wooden dishes, out of which the people, lounging on the floor, help themselves with their hands. The stewed grains they form into balls with the fingers, and chuck them down their throats with that peculiar action which practice only can give, and which, here as in the East, is deemed a grace by those who use it, and a brutality by us, who do not. The meat, if any, is torn to pieces by the fingers; but, as it is always over-

done, or, as our cooks would phrase it, "done to rags," this action is less "barbarous" and disgusting than description makes it seem.

We have more than once had occasion to mention that milk and butter enter largely into the diet of the Mohammedan Africans, including the Jaloofs. They use, however, only the milk of cows; for although they eat the flesh they abhor the milk of goats. The curious notion which prevents them from boiling milk, or from selling it to persons by whom it has been boiled, has a parallel among the Bulloms, who will not sell oranges to those who throw the skins into the fire "lest it should cause the unripe fruit to fall off." When the milk is fresh drawn, a little salt is added to it before it is drank; for salt is reckoned a great delicacy, on account of the distance from which it is brought, and the high price paid for it. In general, nowever, milk is not drank until it is sour. Butter is made by putting the cream into a large gourd, and stirring it with a stick. To preserve butter, when new made, they boil it, and skim off the oily part, which is reserved for use; to this are added the leaves of a plant which impart to it a strong taste, not very agreeable to the palate of a European.

These natives are fond of a kind of sauce or condiment, of which they make great use with their food; it is composed of the seeds of the locust-tree (*mimosa edulis*). The sweetish pulpy substance, in which the seeds are involved, is set to ferment, and afterwards spread out in the sun to dry; it is then beaten to a powder and mixed with a certain proportion of ground-nuts and pepper. They also make a kind of gingerbread, which they highly esteem, composed of parched ground-nuts powdered, to which are added honey and the flour of Guinea corn. The ground-nuts afford a very fine meal, which mixes readily with water, and is very convenient for travellers, although oily and difficult of digestion. Cakes of rice and honey are also made, and are not unpalatable.

As to drink, water is the ordinary beverage of the Moslem negroes, who exhibit the usual Moslem abhorrence of spirits and fermented liquors—so much so indeed that a single drop falling upon a clean garment renders it unfit to wear until it has been washed. Considering the mad passion of the Pagan negroes for inebriating drinks, and which was formerly exhibited in nations since become Mohammedan, it must freely be admitted that this is one of the points in which Islam has rendered benefit to the African nations which have received its law, and among whom temperance could probably only have been secured by the *absolute prohibition* which this religion involves. They frequently, however, make, and are fond of a kind of mead, or rather sherbet; and also drink an infusion of a berry in water, which then takes a sweetish taste, and is drank with milk.

The Moslem as well as Pagan negroes are much addicted to the use of tobacco in one form or another. It is smoked by the Jaloofs and others along the coast; but more inland it seems to be generally preferred in the form of snuff, which is obtained by toasting the tobacco-leaves before the fire until they become friable, and then rubbing them in a small mortar with which almost every one is provided. Few of the Foulahs have any idea of using it in any other form, and in that form some of them take it with a small iron spoon, appropriated exclusively to this use. The snuff is also used as a dentifrice. Tobacco grows, wild and cultivated, so extensively in Africa, that it is difficult to suppose it is not an indigenous product of the soil. It is cultivated in all the countries from the Senegal to Cape Palmas, as well as far into the interior. The species is the round-leafed (*nicotiana minor*), which grows very freely, is of good quality, and might, under proper cultivation, become an article of value in the trade of Western Africa.

Another luxury, which ranks next to tobacco in general estimation, is the *kola*. This is the fruit of a large and beautiful tree, not unlike the walnut, which grows abundantly on the coast; and is held in as high esteem, and applied to nearly the same uses, as the areka nut in the East Indies. The kola, seven or eight kernels of which, of the size and shape of a chestnut, are included in a thick green capsule, is a very pleasant bitter and astringent. It is much esteemed for its stomachic powers, and is generally washed down with a draught of cold water, to which it imparts a remarkably pleasant, sweetish taste. "Its taste is very bitter," says Jobson, "yet it causes that which is taken after it to taste very sweet; for so I found it made water taste like

white wine and sugar: fifty of them will buy a wife." Other things are sometimes used with it to increase its pungency; and where it is scarce, a substitute is found for it in the bark of a certain tree. The kola is either white, or of a dark red or purple colour, and gives a yellow hue to the saliva; and is, indeed, capable of being used as a yellow dye. Kola is always presented to the guests in visits of ceremony.

The huts are not very different from those of the Foulahs; and at a distance a Jaloof village has the aspect of a collection of large dove-cotes or bee-hives. The walls are of reeds, fastened closely together, and supported by stakes driven into the ground. These stakes are six or seven feet high; and the whole is covered by a conical roof of the same height, which terminates in a point. Thus each hut has only a ground floor, and is usually from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. The door is square, and is, of necessity, very low. Many of them have the threshold raised a foot above the ground, so that in entering a person is obliged to incline his body and to lift his leg very high. All the huts belonging to the same person are enclosed by a fence.

This seems a superior style of the Jaloof hut; for Adanson visited a village in which the huts were of much less convenient construction and shapely proportions. In some of these the covering came down almost to the ground, and was kept up before the door by a few stakes to form a kind of pent-house, which gave shelter from the rays of the sun. In others, the walls were done over with thick mud, mixed with cow-dung, which smelled abominably: the latter had two opposite entrances, each of which was only an oval made in the wall, of a foot and a half in diameter, and two feet from the ground. The streets were as irregular as the huts, and very narrow. But notwithstanding the want of proportion observed by the negro architects, their villages are still very agreeable, because they are planted with trees, which at once afford a most pleasant shade, and refresh the eye by their verdure.

Some travellers fall into the rather stupid error of calling *one* of the Jaloof's huts his *house;* when in fact a single hut is but one *room* of his house. We have our rooms in one connected fabric; they have theirs in several detached fabrics, or huts, within one enclosure. All the huts within this enclosure therefore form, properly speaking, the house of the owner. The rich man is known by the number of huts within his *tapade*, or enclosure, just as with us he is known—at least ostensibly—by the number of rooms which his house contains. The palace of the king differs only from other habitations by the large number of huts which it embraces; and we are assured that the poorest man has at least two.

As might be supposed, fabrics of such combustible materials, and among so careless a people, must very often take fire. Adanson declares that he remembers some years wherein not a month, nay, sometimes not a week or fortnight elapsed without one hut or another taking fire in the native village of the isle of Senegal; and sometimes the fires spread with such fury, that in the space of five years one half of the village, extending very nearly 400 fathoms, was twice burned down to the ground in less than twenty-four hours. The cause of these calamities is frequently unknown, for they commonly occur in the daytime during the most scorching heat of the sun; and the negroes are so used to them that they seldom lose either their lives or effects, so that they seem to expect them continually, without living under much apprehension on that account. The traveller who has been named describes one of the fires by which the north part of the village of Senegal was burnt down to the ground:—"The reader may easily imagine what havock the flames made among a parcel of reed huts, standing very close to each other, and dried by the heat of the sun, especially when fanned by a strong wind from the north-east. In vain did the marabouts climb on the top of the cottages, and spit into the blaze; in vain did they mumble over their prayers, and act a thousand ridiculous mummeries; not one of the huts over which they performed their charms escaped; neither was the fury of the flames assuaged until, finding the inutility of these operations, they bestirred themselves with all their might in throwing water and sand to extinguish the fire. The day following they endeavoured to repair their loss; new cottages were raised on the same spot, and in a few days there were no traces remaining of the damage done by this conflagration."

The furniture of these dwellings is very simple: it consists only of a few earthen pots, a

few calabashes or gourd-bottles, with wooden bowls, baskets, and the like. One or two beds are frequently sufficient for a whole family, including the domestics, who lie, pell-mell, along with their master and the children. The bed is a hurdle laid on cross pieces of wood, which are supported on the ends of forked branches driven into the ground, and which raise it a foot above the ground; over this a mat is placed; and this is all the bed; coverings and pillows are not used. Adanson describes the inhabitants of a swampy district up the river as obliged to sleep on high platforms in the open air to avoid the musquitoes. These beds are five or six feet square, and consist of a double texture of sticks, laid very closely together, and supported by four posts, at the height of eight or nine feet from the ground. The negroes ascend to these places with ease, by means of projecting steps affixed to two of the perpendicular posts; at sunset the musquitoes issue in swarms from their quarters, and then the natives repair to their platforms, where they sup, smoke, and chat for the greater part of the night, after which they sleep in the same place until day.

Beyond the precincts of their villages the natives elevate large rush baskets upon stakes: in these they keep their grain; and such is the respect for the rights of property, that these stores are never violated.

The trades are the same as have already been mentioned among the Foulahs, and the same is the estimation in which they are held by those who have no need to labour for their subsistence. The fisherman becomes a distinct trade on the coast, and forms a fourth caste, into which, in common with the others, no "good Jaloof" will marry, although none of them are, like the Goulahs, denied the privilege of a grave. The state of these arts is such as we formerly described. But it may be borne in mind that in some nations which have the other crafts that of the weaver is wanting, the country cloths being made at home by the women.

The canoes, or *pirogues*, as the French call them, are very light, although sometimes capable of carrying ten or twelve men. They are all of one piece, being the trunk of a single tree hollowed out—not on *this* coast, as among absolute savages, by fire, but—by cutting. These canoes are from ten to thirty feet long, from one to two feet in breadth and depth, and both ends terminate in a point. The paddles are small flat boards, laid across one another, and fastened to the end of a stick. These canoes often overset in a high wind or rough water; but this the coast negroes do not much mind, being all excellent swimmers. They soon turn it right again with their shoulders with great unconcern, and so row away, as swift as the arrow from a bow, the swiftest French sloops not being able to overtake them.

The Jaloofs swear by saying *Ak so ma baccané*, which means "By my nose!" and this is their general oath. We have heard of nations swearing by the head, by the eyes, or by the beard—but of swearing by the nose we have encountered no previous example.

In saluting each other there is great appearance of cordiality and friendship among the negroes. The palms of the right hand are laid upon each other, and drawn downwards to the extremities of the fingers, which are snapped. The Jaloofs have three forms of expression in salutation, adapted to the time of the day. In the morning they say *Dhyarakio hiameca sabaye kiam sendelle saghuiabas sa dome ghuiam*, which means "Good day! How dost thou do? Are thy father, mother, and children well?" On which we may note that in Western Africa, and indeed throughout two-thirds of the world, no man dreams of asking another about his *wife's* welfare. In the afternoon, instead of *Dhyarakio*, or "Good day," they say *Dherang-haundo*, with the addition of the same words that were employed in the morning; and in the evening *Dheranghuengo* is substituted.

Among the Moslems there is also the usual salutation of *Salam alaikum*, "Peace be between us!" responded to by *Alaikum salama*, "There is peace between us!" This form of salutation, suggested by the dread of hostility or danger, is of the most ancient origin. It frequently occurs in the Scriptures, in which it may be traced up to the times of the patriarchs. So Jacob, inquiring after Laban's welfare and health—"Is there peace to him?" (Gen. xxix. 6;) and so Moses and Jethro "asked each other of their peace." (Exod. xviii. 7.)

The Jaloofs are extremely kind to their slaves; they rarely strike them, and never impose

upon them tasks above their strength; and they take as much care of their children as they do of their own.

Mendicity and pauperism are not known in Western Africa, and the reason is clear. Mendicity and pauperism are the marks—perhaps the *stigmata*—of civilization, or at least of freedom; for pauperism implies the liberty in man to ruin himself or to be ruined; the liberty to want, the liberty to die of hunger. In that low state of society in which the peasant or the poorer class is in bondage—is the slave or the serf of the superior classes, there can be no pauperism, because society for its own protection requires the lord of the soil to provide, under all circumstances, for the food, lodging, and raiment of the man whose labour he monopolizes. Hence there is no pauperism in Russia, where the poor are serfs; nor any in Senegambia, where the poor are slaves. Here then is the balance of evils and of benefits. *We* have paupers and mendicants, but no slaves: *they* have slaves, but no paupers or mendicants.

Golberry assures us that during the whole time he resided in Africa, and in all the countries he visited, he never saw a single poor beggar. And although this must primarily be attributed to the cause we have stated, something may be allowed to the climate, the warmth of which renders clothing, and even lodging, scarcely necessary; whence the earth yields almost without labour an abundant and wholesome subsistence; and where humane and tender hospitality towards all that seem to want or suffer, is a general virtue.

The only men in Africa who demand charity are the blind, who go about in troops of eight or ten, each with a very large stick in his hand, and properly habited in white cloth. They proceed to the doors of the huts, and chant passages from the Koran, or some other canticles. The praises of the hut-holder are not stinted, and the misfortunes of the blind are set forth in very affecting language. The instant these blind men begin to sing, they are invited into the house and made to sit down, and victuals are as soon as possible placed before them; but these donations are offered with earnestness, and as a homage due to humanity, and to the pity inspired by the misfortunes of blindness, rather than as an alms. The people like to hear the canticles of the blind, and never allow them to suffer any want. This peculiar case of the blind reminds us that in Arabia also such unfortunate persons are the only recognised paupers. Their wants are there provided for liberally by the community to which they belong; but they are not allowed to marry: it not being considered just that persons unable to contribute to the maintenance of a family, should increase the burden upon the community by their marriage.

When a husband dies, his wives display every manifestation of the most consuming grief. They pour forth the most horrible cries at the door of the hut in which lies their dead lord. To these cries all the women within hearing immediately respond; and they begin to tear their faces, their bosoms, and their arms, as if each had lost a father, mother, husband, or child. This continues for twenty-four hours; and equally takes place at the death of wives or young children. Abandoning themselves to these violent expressions of sorrow, the wives and children of the deceased leave the care of preparing the funeral to their neighbours. The only charge which they undertake is to provide palm wine, and, if possible, brandy or rum, for the entertainment after the funeral, which is always followed by feasting and dances. At the funeral the Goulahs, beating their drums, march in front; after them come armed men, who follow in silence. Then comes the body, borne by two men. The females, delivered from their recent cares, follow the corpse, recommencing their wailings, and even tearing their persons.

The Jaloofs are careful to protect from the wild beasts the bodies of their friends; to this end every grave is covered with thorny shrubs, which in time form impenetrable bushes. These verdant tufts are durable monuments of the affectionate motive which has scattered them over plains parched by the heat of the sun; and they are beneficial to the country, for under their shade spring up the seeds of trees, which may in time, in countries of such active vegetation, produce a forest.

When the corpse has been committed to the earth the cortége returns in the same order in which it came, but without the cries and lamentations, which cease with the interment.

All thought is then turned towards the feast, which is apparently the same in principle as

the Irish wake, with the certainly favourable difference that it takes place in Africa not before but after the interment.

Every opportunity of getting a dance is seized with avidity by the young people; and the dance of death is repeated on three successive evenings.

The negro dance has claimed the censure of most travellers for great indecorum, although much of this is not apparent to the notice of an unpractised observer. Mohammedanism frowns upon it; but its prevalence has not, perhaps, in any material degree been impaired. Corry writes, "Upon all occasions of mirth or sorrow, the dance is uniformly introduced with monotonous songs, sometimes tender and agreeable, at others savage and ferocious, but always accompanied by a slow movement; and it may with propriety be said that all the nights in Africa are spent in dancing; for after the setting of the sun every village resounds with songs and music; and I have often listened to them with attention and pleasure during the tranquil evenings of the dry season. Villages a league distant from each other frequently perform the same song, and alternately change it for hours together. While this harmonic correspondence continues, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages chant their couplets, the youth of both sexes listen with the utmost attention and pleasure."

The musical *instruments* used on this coast we will reserve for future notice; but with reference to the music and song, we would say something in this place.

The Rev. John Lindsay, chaplain of his Majesty's ship Fougueux, in the expedition, under Admiral Keppel, which, in 1758, dispossessed the French of their settlements in Goree and Senegal, gives some notion of the musical performances of this people by the account of what he noticed after the surrender of the latter place to the English. The presence of a native prince (who came to congratulate the conquerors) brought thither persons of various abilities, among whom was a singing man (*guiriot* or *goulah*) of apparently high estimation. His song seemed from his action to be the detail of some battle, or of some great warrior's history. He sung in a sort of recitative; and at the end of every sentence he played upon a kind of lute a sort of symphony, most commonly of four notes, especially in the passionate parts, and at others he lengthened them out to four bars. "But his action in the vocal part," says Mr. Lindsay, "was the most surprising I have seen: he put himself into violent passions, till he would sweat and foam like a madman; and in accompanying the words with an action suited to the story, would sometimes stamp with his foot and threaten with his hand, would kneel, and even lie down, would soothe and threaten again, so that it appeared to me that the performer was enthusiastically possessed by some ideas of inspiration, or at least seemed desirous that his audience should think so, and this is the most likely. The negroes believe these impostors are all of them inspired, or at least are familiar with the devil; and although they honour and enrich these sycophants to have their praise while alive, they deny them the common rites of burial when dead.

"Of their poetry (continues Mr. Lindsay) I can be no judge of it from their language; but I will give you a specimen of it in broken English, such as I heard at Goree, being a sort of song with which they used to flatter the English after the surrender of that island:—

'Frenchman a Goree,
Go Pop——pop——pop——pop.
England a come! England a come!
Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop, pop, pop! Pop!'

"In the singing of which, with a scornful sneer, they drawled out the word *pop* on the French side; but, on the part of the English, with cheerfulness and vivacity; intimating thereby the great difference between the quickness of the firing on board the English ships and that of the batteries on shore."

The dominant religion among the Jaloofs, as well as among the other nations of this quarter, is Mohammedanism, as we have already had much occasion to notice; but it is a bastard species of Islam, disfigured by a great number of the superstitious practices of Fetishism, the old religion of the country, which we shall hereafter have sufficient occasion to bring before the reader. Thus arises the extravagant use of *greegrees*, which we have so frequently found occasion to notice. These are for the most part composed of a prayer or holy text written by

the Marabouts, whom Europeans erroneously call their priests, but who in fact are no other than *professed* holy men or saints. This prayer is enveloped in a bit of skin, and is thus worn around the neck. It is not unusual to see worn by one person as many as ten or twelve, each of which is believed to produce a particular effect. In general these greegrees are designed to exempt them from certain diseases and evils, and to render them victorious over their enemies. If the reverse befals, the blame is laid to the Marabout by whom it was made, or upon the little faith of the wearer; and the general character of the greegrees is thus safe, whatever be the event.

Mr. Moister, the Wesleyan missionary at St. Mary's, confirms this. He says, "Many of the natives carry a dozen greegrees, or charms, about their necks, in which they trust, and from which they expect help in time of danger. I met an old man to-day (May 14th, 1831) who had many of these little talismans hung around him. He pointed out one which he said would preserve him from being cut if any person struck him with a knife or sword; he presented another, which, he said, would save him if he were shot at with a musket; he invited me (in broken English) to fetch one and try the experiment. I thought it better to remind him of his folly, and point him to a higher power which actually could save and protect in times of danger." (Wesleyan Missionary Report, 1830, p. 60.)

With respect to these greegrees, our Quaker friend, Mr. Singleton, states, "that while sitting at the door of a hut he perceived a bustle, owing to one of the natives seizing a musket, and after a few words uttered in haste, but apparently with interest, carrying it away, as it proved, to the Sereen, for a fetish or greegree to prevent the ball from bursting out at the side. Not unfrequently two Africans will fight to try the power of each other's, or each of his own greegree; and sometimes the conflict terminates in the death of one of the parties. When intoxicated, individuals have been known so far to presume on the virtue of these amulets as to deprive themselves of life by a too free use of their weapons on their own persons. A black man at Bathurst once put such confidence in his greegrees as to declare to Captain S. his persuasion that the captain could not injure them with his fowling-piece. He put them all into his cap; and on seeing them and his cap blown to pieces, exclaimed, 'Oh, I see; black man's greegree only good for black man!'"

The different Jaloof nations appear to offer examples of all the forms of government known among the negroes, and which here, for the sake of distinctness, we may specify, although they have already been alluded to more than once. Everywhere the prevailing *form* of government is monarchical. In some the succession is hereditary, in others elective; and in some it is both hereditary and elective, being hereditary as to the family, but elective as to the individual.

In those states where the succession is hereditary, the form of succession differs materially, *but in no case does the son immediately succeed the father.* In the first class of instances, when the king dies, his brother, and not his son, succeeds; and when this brother dies, not his son, but the son of the preceding king ascends the throne; and after him, his brother again, and not his son. This is rather an ingenious contrivance, whereby not only is the contingency of reigning secured to the greatest number of princes, during their most efficient years, but maturity of years and experience are secured to the throne. The other principle of hereditary succession is that in which the nephew of the deceased king, by the side of his sister, succeeds in preference to sons, or else brothers, or nephews by brothers. This takes place in those states in which purity of blood is most regarded; for they so far reflect upon their own women as to hold that there is no certainty that any but these are of the blood-royal.

In the elective monarchies, the government is properly aristocratical, the electors being, in most cases, a few great hereditary chiefs or lords, who take care to make choice of the person on whose subservience they may with the most certainty calculate; and reserve to themselves the power of deposing and even of banishing him whenever his measures become displeasing to them. This they do with very little ceremony. An instance of this form of government has been placed before the reader in the case of Foota-toro, where, as we have seen, a common Marabout, without any other influence than that of character, is usually chosen—that the king

may have no connexions or wealth tending to make him independent of the king-makers. In other instances, it would seem, and especially among the Jaloofs, there is a kind of order of nobility or gentry, called *Sahibobos*, and of superior grandees, called *Tenhalas*, who form the body from which a king, not in any case under thirty years of age, must be chosen. But Barbot, who is the authority on this point, is very obscure in those intimations which refer to it.

To our minds there seems little matter of interest in the wars which these barbarous nations make upon one another. They are seldom other than skirmishes or forays in a neighbouring country, such as we have had on more than one occasion to mention. The slave trade, while it provoked warfare, operated to make it comparatively bloodless, as it was the object to secure as many sound captives as possible for the slave-market. Hence very few persons were found dead on the field after a battle. Moore insinuates, however, that the ultimate mortality, from the poisoned arrows, was much greater than the apparent carnage. The Jaloofs have a good reputation for courage, and are sometimes capable of acts which may be called heroic. It is, however, difficult to found a great act on little circumstances.

It seems useless to mention those practices of the Moslem Africans which are common to all Moslems. We shall, therefore, confine our attention to a few which are more peculiar to them, or in which their new faith has only slightly or not at all modified their ancient practices.

We may, however, remark on the great leading dogma—"There is no God but God; and Mohammed is the prophet of God;" merely to remind the reader of the lurking venom against Christianity in the first clause. In its plain terms it appears a truism, to which no Christian would hesitate to subscribe; but its less obvious, yet clearly avowed meaning, is levelled at the divinity of Christ, which Islam chooses to consider as idolatry and polytheism. As such, "the Polytheists," in the vocabulary of Moslem theology, more frequently denotes Christians than Pagans. And the animus of the formulary, as against Christian doctrine, is more clearly evinced by the frequent subjunct—"God, who neither begetteth nor is begotten." Jobson represents their views of Christ as correctly perhaps as any traveller. They have some broken traditions of him, speaking of him as a great prophet, who wrought many extraordinary miracles, which they relate in a very disjointed manner. They call him Nale, and say his mother's name was Maria. They allow him to have been a great and good man, but insist on the impossibility of his being the Son of God. Indeed, the doctrine of the Incarnation is the great rock of offence to them and to all Moslems. However, Jobson, who is a fine specimen of our old captains, concludes, from a prophecy among them, that they will ultimately be subdued and be subject to a white nation; and that, in the fulness of time, they will be converted to Christ. Nay, he was so sanguine as to believe that this determinate time drew near; and seems to intimate that he had some comfort in the hope of being himself an humble instrument, in God's hand, towards bringing about that blessed work.

Their prayers are of the description, and are performed in the manner, common among all Moslems. They are generally, however, content to pray three times a-day—at day-break, noon, and sunset—instead of five times (and seven on Fridays), as the Moslem law requires. Their prayers most commonly are celebrated in an open place. Mosques are very few in the country. As no sanctity is attached by Moslems to their mosques, we more than suspect that the palaver, or assembly houses, are made to serve the purpose. However, there are some mosques, especially as we proceed inland.

It is a singular fact, of which we are unable to give any satisfactory explanation, that although the Moslem Lent or Ramazan is a moveable lunar feast among all the other Moslem nations that we know—and even among the Moors, from whom they have received their religion—yet with the Moslem negroes of Senegambia it is a fixed festival, always occurring in September. They observe this fast very strictly, as most Moslems do; that is to say, they observe the most rigid abstinence in the day-time—but make up for it by much feasting and carousal at night. If they observe the fast so precisely, we may be sure that a people so naturally joyous as the negroes, are not backward in celebrating with great vigour the ensuing festival—the only great Moslem festival of Bairam, or, as they call it, *Tabasket*. For three days they

abandon themselves to mirthful observances—to processions, feastings, wrestlings, and the eternal dance. Their immense impulsiveness as to dancing, on any reasonable or unreasonable occasion, was a matter of unceasing astonishment even to Frenchmen. Labat declares that a negro who has toiled hard all day "thinks nothing rests him better than to dance four or five hours by the clock."

Of all the other practices of the Mohammedan religion, that to which they conform the most exactly is circumcision; but they do not submit their children to it until they attain the age of fourteen or fifteen years, that they may be the better able to endure the pain of the operation, and may be able with perfect consciousness to make the profession of their faith. To make the ceremony the more imposing, proclamation is made in all the neighbouring villages of the approaching event, when all who are at or about the usual age are brought to the place appointed for the celebration, and the number is often very considerable. Those who are thus circumcised together contract by that act a certain alliance, by virtue of which they look upon one another as brothers for the rest of their lives. The whole affair is conducted with much of negro pomp and ceremony.

The circumcision always takes place about a month before the rains set in: and after the youths are healed (which is in about twelve days) they meet together, assume a peculiar habit, and are then allowed to go about committing all kinds of minor outrages with perfect impunity: but, for the most part, they are content to make exactions, as beggars who will not be refused. This reminds one, in some respects, of the "Freedom-day," as it is called, with which the boys of some of our endowed schools are favoured every year; and to which class of privileges the "Eton Montem" also belongs. When the rains come on the privilege terminates, and the lads resume their usual dress and employments.

It should be observed, however, that the rite of circumcision is by no means confined to the Jaloofs, or even to the Mohammedan negroes. It is practised along the greatest part or the whole of the western coast of Africa, even to the Cape of Good Hope, and hence by the Hottentots and Caffres; and from its general use in the parts at present known, we may conclude that the rite pervades the whole of this great continent. As practised among the pagan negroes, we shall have occasion to notice it hereafter.

Among the Jaloofs, as well as the other Mohammedan negroes, the marabouts enjoy great power. Much of this is founded on the confidence which they have managed to excite in the greegrees which they furnish, and the high prices they exact for which gives them possession of considerable wealth. Into this order—for it is what the Roman Catholics would call an "order"—no one can be admitted who is not of good character, and who has some acquaintance with the Arabic language. The candidate should know several chapters of the Koran by heart; and he is expected to have some knowledge of certain Arabic books which treat chiefly of the history of the world and of arithmetic. The marabout who to all this knowledge adds the qualification of composing in the Arabic language—for the mother tongue is not written—has a right to wear a scarlet cap, and to take the august title of Tomsire, or Alpha, which is a Foulah name, and may perhaps be regarded as nearly equivalent to our "Doctor."

The system of enumeration, which the Jaloofs have preserved in all its simplicity, is very remarkable. Among them the science of arithmetic has not merely continued in its infancy, but even in its cradle. They reckon by divisions of five numbers; and although they are the neighbours of the Moors who employ the Arabian system of numeration, they have not adopted that simple progression which nearly all mankind have, as if by one consent, made choice of. It is here, therefore, that we see in complete operation the most primitive and simple form of computation—founded, no doubt, on the number of fingers on the hand, and from the habit of counting on those fingers. It is true that our system of counting by tens is equally founded on the number of the fingers; but it is one of the distinctions of relative civilization to use the fingers of both hands, whereas savages employ those of one hand alone. Antiquity offers various traces of a custom which has now been abandoned by all but the savages of the old world and the new, evincing, what is indeed clear without proof, that the use of five fingers in counting was anterior to the use of ten. The classical reader remembers that, in Homer, Proteus is made to count his sea-calves by fives

and fives, that is by the number of fingers on one hand. In Golberry's book the reader may see a complete series of Jaloof numbers, from 1 to 1200, by which it appears that this system of numeration is nothing more than a perpetual repetition of the period of five numbers, and that the very simplicity of its principle renders it very complex when the numbers have passed the first ten. Golberry assures us, however, that the attachment of the Jaloofs to their ancient arithmetic has no reference to any difficulty of comprehending the general system of simple arithmetic, but to that rooted attachment to the ancient ideas and customs of their race, or as they call them to their "country fashions," for which no people are more remarkable than the Africans. It appears, however, that many of the Jaloofs are able to make more complicated calculations with considerable rapidity; not however by the above method of numeration, but by substituting for it a sort of manual calculation, which is performed by signs, and by the motions of the right-hand fingers. All their bargains, however considerable, are made with the fingers of this hand alone, without any written signs; for, as more than once before intimated, none of the negroes know how to write either their language or the numbers of their numerical system.

Those who wish to form more complete ideas may find extensive lists of words in recent travellers. Park only remarks of the Jaloof language that "it is said to be copious and significant, and is often learnt by Europeans trading to Senegal." The Rev. R. M. Macbriar, who paid more attention to the matter, says that "the Jaloof language is guttural in itself, but is now so much mixed with French and Arabic words that it is half lost in those foreign dialects. It is copious and very expressive, but rough and vulgar, as might be expected from its contact with low Frenchmen and Arabs."

A Quaker lady, Hannah Kilham, who devoted much of her life to negro education and at last sacrificed it in the cause, was the first to reduce the Jaloof or Wolof to a written form, in which she printed reading lessons. She made three voyages to Africa for the sake of acquainting herself with the native languages, and of testing the practical use of her labours. Writing, in December, 1823, from Brikow, a Mandingo town, near Bathurst, on the Gambia, she says:—"I have the consolation to find that the humble attempt upon which I have entered for the reduction of the African languages to a written form, appears quite likely to answer the design of presenting an intelligible picture to the natives. Adrian Partarrieu* informs me that a young man from Senegal, who has been instructed in French and speaks Wolof, has read the 'African Lessons' in Wolof, from the book which I gave him the day before yesterday: HE UNDERSTANDS THE WHOLE, and remarks that it will be a good method of teaching himself English, through the medium of Wolof. Sandanee has been reading out of the Scripture Lessons to some natives, at their request, which they appear to understand. I have been to talk a little Wolof to the children, and long to teach it to them from their books."

Under a few days' later date, the same lady writes:—"I felt much disappointed while at Brikow that there were no Jaloofs resident there. But as we stay here (at Bathurst) for a season, the African Lessons may be sufficiently tried for our purpose. It is evident that the book is quite intelligible when read to the natives. Dongo Karry,† on hearing a few sentences, exclaimed, 'Ah! that is Jaloof,' translating them for himself into English; and when a few passages of Scripture were read, he cried out with emphasis, 'Great and good—great and good!' The girls who had any previous knowledge of letters are learning very fast to read the Jaloof: yet the style of Sandanee and Mahmadee will doubtless be much improved by Partarrieu's, and we have begun a new MS. for a new edition."

With the Dongo Karry, named above, one of the gentlemen of this Quaker party makes us rather interestingly acquainted. In proceeding now, for the first time, to copy the broken English in which missionaries and others usually, and of course correctly, report the talk of negroes, we must declare that we do so under protest, and with very great repugnance. We are of opinion that very much of the low idea which is entertained of the negro intellect is owing to this distorted medium through which its developments are constantly exhibited to us. But nothing can be more unjust than this; seeing that the man whom we look down upon as

* An individual who appears, from former reports, to have been consulted on the subject of the Jaloof language.
† An intelligent young Moslem of hopeful character.

a lisping child, may in his own native tongue be able to express himself with force and eloquence. We should not ourselves like to be judged by the same standard; and there are few of us who use a foreign language with greater correctness or command of expression than the negro exhibits in speaking English. It is a sore evil, and to the negro a great injustice; and, to our minds, it is highly creditable to his intellect that, even thus hampered by the trammels of a foreign tongue, he is often able to give vent to his feelings and ideas in words of power. For ourselves, it is obvious that, notwithstanding our private feeling in this matter, we have no alternative but to report conversations in the language in which they are given.

In the present instance it may be premised that the name *Sereen*, Mr. Singleton affirms to mean an inferior kind of Moslem teacher or student. While in the Gambia he writes:—"My favourite Sereen, Dongo Karry, paid me a visit at my lodgings. I inquired of him what those natives are called who disregard the instructions of the Sereens, and give themselves up to wickedness?—D. K. 'We call them *Keddo*.'

"'What name do you give to those who begin to forsake bad ways and to learn book?'—D. K. '*Toobkut*. When they do no bad, but learn book every day, then they *Maraboo*—all English Maraboo. All sabby* book too [*i. e.* very] much.'" "Ah, Dongo! I fear some sabby book, and are no better for it.'—D. K. 'O my fader, you say right—no better for it. But all black men tank English: they no take man and sell him. Damel†, *keddo*—Mha boor, *keddo*—Boor Sin†, *keddo*—Frenchman, *keddo*. Black man no tank dem: black man tank English.'

"'Dongo, thou hast often told me that if black man send you book [the Koran doubtless] every day, he must go to heaven. Can no one be happy at last unless he send you book?'—D. K. 'Oh, yes! Suppose white man mind what God tell him in his heart, he go to heaven, if he no sabby book. Mind every day do good, no do bad, MUST go to heaven. Suppose any man sabby book, read book every day, sabby it too much; if he no do good, every time [always] do bad, he no go to heaven: he no better for book. Suppose Satana turn your heart, force you do bad, drink wine, drink rum, break house, fight, you go fire.'

"'But, Dongo, Satan cannot FORCE us to do evil: he can bid us; but if we say we will not, he cannot force us; for our Maker is stronger than Satan, and will make him go away.'

"At this Dongo gave a shout, as usual with the natives when they are pleased: his countenance appeared animated with delight, and he exclaimed with energy, 'O, my fader! I believe dat. Oh, dat very good! Satana no force us. Satana go away. Oh, I believe dat! Dat is true what you say. God make him go away.'

"The joy which appeared in Dongo's countenance, the feeling manner of uttering the above expressions, and others which I cannot recollect, incline me to hope that he is acquainted with something better than the Koran."

With respect to these two Jaloof teachers, Sandanee and Mahmadee, Hannah Kilham writes:—"We have hopes with respect to both our African teachers, that they will answer the wishes, which we know live in your minds, for their good, and for their usefulness to their country. They tell of advice which they receive from some of the residents here, to avoid the bad example of their countrymen, and to attend to past and present instruction.

"Sandanee spoke with much interest of the good counsel given to him by one of the French nuns, who had devoted herself to the service of the sick here—never to leave his present friends and their counsel as long as he lived. These nuns paid us a visit in school-time; and uttered, upon entering, their animated exclamation, 'Charmante, charmante!' adding, if we staid here, and kept such a school, it would do a great deal of good.

"Mahmadee has been very useful to us, both as an interpreter and in doing all that he could to serve and help us in many respects. He has been up to his native place, Albreda, and to Jillifree, the next town. He brought me a present of a goat from his grandfather; and one of parched rice, with a friendly invitation, from the Alcaide of Jillifree—a fine-looking man, who has since been to see us, having some customs to receive here."

* This, which so often occurs in Negro-English, means *know*; and is, no doubt, a corruption of the French *savoir*, to know.

† The kings of Kayor and Sin. *Boor, Bar, Bur, Burb*, as differently given by different writers, is Jaloof for *king*.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JALOOF KINGDOMS.

The general statement respecting the Jaloofs, contained in the preceding chapter, will have prepared the reader to accompany us through the several kingdoms in which that nation has sway.

The kingdom of Kayor is one of the most wealthy of those which lie between the Senegal and Gambia. It extends from the Senegal southward to the borders of Baol and Salum, beyond Rufisco. Formerly the Cape Verde peninsula was included in the kingdom of Kayor, but the people (who are not Jaloofs) revolted, and the inaccessible nature of their country, which is covered with rocks, has enabled them to maintain their independence.

It will thus be seen that the Jaloofs of Kayor are the first sea-shore Africans of whom we have had occasion to write. The English have had some slight intercourse with this kingdom; but our knowledge of it is due chiefly to the French travellers. In fact, the Jaloofs of Kayor are the next neighbours of the French, on the south, in their settlement at the mouth of the Senegal. Our old acquaintance, the Sieur Brue, is, through his editor Labat, still, however, the principal source of our information concerning Kayor.

Very soon after his arrival, in 1697, as governor-general of the French settlements in this quarter, the Sieur became acquainted with Latir-fal-Saukabe, the Damel, or king, of Kayor. This acquaintance was formed at Rufisco, on the coast opposite Goree, and arose from the liberality of the governor in a transaction for the purchase of a hundred and fifty slaves from the Damel. The heart of this monarch was so completely won by the presents and testimonials of respect from the Sieur, that he engaged him in all his parties of pleasure, made his women dance before him, and sought his company on all occasions. The interested motives of the prince soon, however, transpired, and the civil refusal of his exorbitant expectations speedily changed all his sweetness to gall. His new wrath was artfully fomented by the French officers who had profited by the abuses which the Sieur had been sent to reform. The Sieur, although not a man of very nice conscience, had much temper and discretion, and succeeded in allaying this discontent. But it broke out again soon after. Brue received a quantity of goods from France, and sent the Damel notice of their arrival, with an intimation that if he had a sufficient number of slaves to dispose of, the governor was ready to trade with him. This vile slave-trade is the black drop which disfigures every page concerning Africa at this period. The Damel, as well as the other negro monarchs, had a sure way of supplying any deficiency of slaves, by selling their own subjects; for doing so, they must, indeed, have some pretext or other, and this they were seldom slow to find. The Damel, being already deep in the books of the Company, knew that he could expect no credit; and, therefore, he seized three hundred of his own people, and then sent word that he had slaves to deliver for his goods, if the governor would come to a place beyond Rufisco, where he waited to receive him.

The Sieur went accordingly, and was received with great marks of friendship and distinction; and the Damel was put into a good humour by the presents, which are always expected at a first visit. He had commissioned a fashionable bed and a suit of armour to be procured him from France; and both had now arrived: but when he found the bed charged him at the price of twenty slaves, he would not have it, although he liked it much. He appears to have expected it as a present, and was much disappointed that the Company was not disposed to gratify him. He then tried the armour, but found it too heavy for him; besides, he was informed by the marabouts that their greegrees would quite as effectually turn aside the force of every weapon, except bullets (called by them *pûfs*), against which, they admitted, their

spells have no power. Upon the whole, the Damel was much disconcerted that he could obtain no more goods than his slaves would purchase, although he coveted double the quantity. But when it was coolly proposed to the king that he should give the governor his licence to seize as many of his subjects as would cover the amount, he refused his consent, on the ground that such a measure would occasion a disturbance among his people. He chose rather to dispense for the time with the goods he required. From this we see clearly that there was a *practical* limit to the authority of the Damel—in what some writers have called "the right of insurrection;" the dread of which compelled him to withhold his consent from the unprincipled proposal of the Sieur, but must have prevented him from himself seizing the number of slaves which he found necessary. In fact, there is always, somewhere, a real limit to all power, however great and absolute it may seem.

This disappointment put the Damel quite out of temper; but Brue ultimately found means of pacifying the resentment he expressed.

It was only a few days after this that the Sieur Brue found pressing occasion to return from Goree to the Senegal; and as the season for going by sea was not then favourable, he resolved to go by land, to which end it was necessary that he should traverse nearly the whole length of the kingdom of Kayor. On intimating this intention to the Damel, that prince readily promised all the assistance in his power, in case the governor would first spend a few days with him at Rufisco.

Rufisco, or properly Rufisque, is a French corruption of the Portuguese Rio Fresco, or Fresh River—from a small river hard by, which, being thickly shaded by woods, is always cool and fresh. It lies at the bottom of a bay, and the woods of the oil-palm and other trees, by which it is surrounded, separate it from the sandy downs which lie between it and the sea, while beyond that, inland, spacious plains extend as far as the eye can reach. It is an unpleasant place; the heat is stifling, from the interception of the breezes by the woods in which it is embosomed, and on the shore the reflection from the sand almost scorches the face, and burns the soles of the feet. There is also a horrid stench with which the air is infected, arising from the vast quantities of a small fish like pilchards, which are purposely left to rot; either spread out on the sand or buried in it—for two reasons, because, as we are told, none of the blacks eat fish till it putrefies; and because the sand imparts to the fish a nitrous flavour, which these people highly admire. On fish they chiefly live, making little use of meat. The fishermen daily go several leagues out to sea in their canoes, and supply not only their own place but many villages up the country with fish.

On the third day the Sieur, with a suitable retinue mounted on camels and horses, reached Makaya, where the Damel then was. Before the palace, forty or fifty negroes were found on guard, and a large body of singing-men were also in waiting, who broke forth, in no feeble tones, in laudatory songs, as soon as the Sieur arrived near enough to hear them. That personage being rather corpulent, found some difficulty in making his way through the outer gate of this negro Versailles, which was at the same time so low that he was obliged to stoop. Many buildings were seen within the enclosure, and among them a *kalde*, or hall of audience, covered, but open on every side. Here was the Damel, seated on a couch which the French had presented to him. He rose as Brue entered, gave him his hand, embraced him, and thanked him for coming so far out of the way to see him. He then obliged him to send back the camels and horses he had hired, insisting that the rules of hospitality required him to be at the charges of the journey through his kingdom.

After this the guest was introduced to the king's wives. He had twelve beyond the four to which Moslems are confined. For this he subjected himself to the rebukes of the Marabouts; but he was wont to answer, royally, that laws were made for Marabouts and for the populace—not for kings. As these ladies interested themselves in providing the governor and his suite with all sorts of African dainties, they expected and received presents of value in return.

The Sieur had cause to repent of having included two ankers of brandy among his presents to the king. That liquor was his delight, and while it lasted he was so constantly fuddled that it was impossible to get his attention to any matter of business, or to obtain the promised beasts

of burden for the journey. On the fourth day the liquor was spent, and the king was sober: but getting some more brandy among the articles paid for some slaves and elephants' teeth, he deferred all further business to the next day. He sent for his wives to dance; and when they had done, he obliged the Sieur Brue to dance with him.

The Damel's tardiness in furnishing beasts for the journey, was probably no more than a mistaken hospitality. It proved so annoying to the Sieur, however, that one morning he departed abruptly, making the slaves carry the baggage. But he had scarcely cleared Makaya before he was overtaken by one of the Damel's principal officers, who begged him to return; but finding entreaty fruitless, he went back to acquaint the king, who immediately sent him again with a request that he would wait a short time where he was, and he should have horses and camels enough. They were accordingly sent without delay, and the Sieur continued his journey. In this transaction, as in many others which will come under our notice, we shall perceive how difficult it is to make intelligible to a negro the idea that time has any value. Nor is this peculiar to Negroland. It is the same throughout the East. The temporal value of time is a secret which only civilization teaches; and its spiritual value has been left for Christianity to make known.

In the remaining journey itself there is no incident of importance; but the Sieur had occasion to learn that the idea of providing for the king's guest which the royal officers entertained, was that of seizing for his use the property of others without compensation. Thus, at their first halt, a cow and calf were taken, very unceremoniously, from the nearest herd.

Among the facts which Labat has given as the result of the Sieur Brue's observations, the following seem the most curious:—

As the monarch of two kingdoms, the Damel supposed himself far greater than any European monarch; and asked the Sieur Brue many questions about the King of France (Louis XIV.), as, How he dressed? how many were his wives? what army, navy, guards, revenues, palaces? and whether the lords of the French court were as finely dressed as the officers in the Sieur's own retinue. The governor found immense difficulty in conveying to the negro king adequate notions of the power, wealth, and grandeur of Louis XIV.; and probably was not believed after all. What most astonished the Damel was to hear that the king had but one wife—which circumstance seemed in his sight to detract greatly from the alleged wisdom and greatness of the "Grand Monarque."

One day the king made the Sieur the present of a slave, who seemed to be somewhat above the common rank, as indeed she was, being the wife of one of the chief officers of the court, who suspected her fidelity. The husband could have punished her himself; but as she had powerful connexions, he thought it better to lay the matter before the Damel, who, finding the charge just, condemned her to slavery for his own profit, and gave her to the Sieur Brue, according to the custom in such cases, that she might be taken from the country. The relations of the woman then applied to him, and found no difficulty in inducing him to take a younger slave in exchange for her, and they lost not a moment in conveying her out of the Damel's territories.

This severe punishment is said to have much effect in keeping the women honest; for as it was the interest of the king to find them guilty, they were sure to find in him a most inexorable judge, and one who would give the complainant no reason to repine at delay of justice.

As nothing but boats and shallops usually came up to Rufisco, the Damel expressed great desire to see a ship, and requested the Sieur to order one up. This, the governor told him, he could not do, the water being too shallow for a large vessel; but he would order up one of ten guns, by which he might easily form a notion of one of a hundred. Accordingly a flag-boat soon appeared, bravely equipped, with a pavilion around her main-mast. The king and his courtiers stood upon the shore, while the vessel went on several tacks before them. It was expected the king would go on board; but this he very prudently declined, either from fear of the sea, or, more probably, in apprehension of being detained as prisoner. After he had well viewed the vessel, he asked the Sieur how much the largest ships were larger than that. Brue,

in answer, desired him to send one of his own officers to measure both; which being done, three or four armsful of line were extended before him, on which he broke forth—" What a canoe is this! How prodigious is the knowledge of the whites!"

It is the custom of the African as well as European princes to get up a military review for the entertainment of a distinguished guest. The Sieur was thus entertained by the Damel, who reviewed at Rufisco a portion of his troops, commanded by his lieutenant-general Kondi. There were 500 men, armed with sabres, bows and arrows, and clad with coats or shirts of mail. These coats of mail were composed of two pieces of cloth, which took nearly the size and shape of the ecclesiastical (Catholic) dalmatic, but was without sleeves. They are formed of cotton, white, red, and other colours, painted all over with Arabic characters in black (sentences from the Koran without doubt), which, say the Marabouts, serve at once to dismay their foes and to protect them from all wounds, except those caused by fire-arms, which were invented after the time of Mohammed. This belief leads to the conclusion that their wars are bloodless enough to sanction the delusion. Indeed, the use of fire-arms was at this time very rare among them. To make assurance doubly sure, the warriors wear under their coats of mail, and upon their arms (which are covered), a multitude of greegrees; and he who has most of these is deemed the bravest fellow, as having the least danger to fear.

The Kondi having drawn up his force in four columns, and placed himself at its head, sent to acquaint the king, who mounted his horse, and flourished his lance as if about to engage an enemy. Thus the King and the Sieur advanced to the middle of the line; whereupon the commander took off his cap, and stripped off his shirt of mail, tossing it over his left arm; and, falling on his knees, threw dust upon his head three times. The king, although he stood but six paces off, sent him orders by his bards (Goulahs or Guiriots) of war, on receiving which he flung on again his cap and shirt, and hastened to put them in execution. This done, he again, and repeatedly, placed himself, as previously, before the king for new commands. These acts, however, produced nothing but cries and some disorderly movements; and after these insipid operations had continued for two or three hours, the king withdrew, the drums beating and the bards playing before him in celebration of his victory.

The *breadth* of this country was traversed by our old acquaintance Mollien, in proceeding from the coast to the interior. And as, apart from this, he was in the way of obtaining, during his residence at St. Louis and Goree, more and better information concerning this country than concerning any other which he visited, we may place the more confidence in his guidance.

Twenty-four hours from St. Louis found our spirited young Frenchman domiciled in the house of Fali-Loum, the chief of the village of Niakara. He tarried here while a messenger was sent back to St. Louis to bring him some European clothes, for he found that the Moorish dress which he had assumed exposed him to the dislike of the people, who detested the Moors, while it afforded very insufficient protection from thousands of insects. He employed the interval in observing the customs of the people, and in examining the interior of their habitations. His host led a very regular life; he rose with the first beams of the sun, and commenced the day by performing his devotions. He then came to the traveller's hut to ask how he had spent the night, and to stir the fire. After this he received the visits of persons belonging to the village, but who had removed to other places in the neighbourhood, some of whom came every day to pay him their respects. The conversation chiefly at this time turned upon the acts of violence which the Damel had lately committed, and was still expected to commit, upon his own subjects.

When these men withdrew, Fali-Loum seated himself under a large tamarind tree not far from his hut. He taught his sons to write; and bestowed on them liberal reproaches for idleness and inattention. In fact, as soon as their father had turned his back, they threw aside the board on which they were writing, and ran off to catch guinea-fowls, which they brought to the stranger for sale. He gave them tobacco in exchange, and with that they bought milk.

At noon Fali-Loum came to invite the Frenchman and his guide to share his repast. His wife and children then retired, for they are not permitted to eat until their father has finished;

nay, as a sign of their respect, they turned away their faces that they might not see him eat. After his meal he mounted his horse and visited the neighbouring chiefs, to concert measures with them for opposing the Damel. His eldest son never quitted him. In the evening he returned, and went through the usual prayers of sunset.

Fali-Loum had no slaves. His children took care of his horse, drove home his goats from the fold, and cut the grass which his beasts required. Mollien himself was made of some use; for several times, at the request of the chief, he took his gun and accompanied the wife to the fountain, to protect her from wild beasts, and from the people of the Damel, who were supposed to be lurking in the neighbourhood.

Supper was ready at eight o'clock; and when they had finished eating, the people soon composed themselves to sleep. The description of the mode of life followed by this village chieftain is declared by our traveller to apply very nearly to that of all the other free negroes; the same order, the same uniformity, everywhere prevail.

The night following Mollien went to meet the person he had despatched to St. Louis for his clothes, and found him at the next village. They immediately returned to Niakra. It was only three o'clock in the morning; but the business of life had already commenced: the schools were already open, and the children, assembled around a large fire, repeated their lessons aloud: the Marabouts were at their prayers, and the women were engaged in pounding millet.

Having assumed his European dress, Mollien found that his hat and shoes secured for him the respect of which his Moorish garb had deprived him.

"When I was ready to depart," writes our author, "I asked my host what recompense he desired for the kindness he had shown me. He answered that he wanted nothing; and that he would ask only one favour of me, which was, to stop at his house on my return. From the lips of a European, polished by civilization and a careful education, a similar answer would not have astonished me; but it surprised me from a negro—not from the benevolence it manifested, but from the delicate manner in which it was expressed." Ultimately, he induced him to accept a little ammunition, a few heads of tobacco, and some coral beads for his wife. "I thought there would be no end to the thanks of Fali-Loum. He praised my liberality in the most magnificent terms, and expressed his regret at having given me a reception so inadequate to my presents. He did not confine himself, as often happens among polished nations, to vain protestations of gratitude, for he accompanied us as our guide for nearly a mile. At the moment of parting he alighted from his horse, raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to God, with impressive fervour, to protect us on our journey."

On his farther progress Mollien remarks that all the village chiefs he has seen have something in their looks that distinguishes them from other negroes; their manners are not wanting in dignity, and more attention is paid to their education than to that of the inferior class of their countrymen. Their real superiority to the rest, in every respect, is very evident; but they know how to qualify it by great affability. The hospitality which they exercise towards strangers is unbounded.

On the evening of the 5th of February our traveller reached the village of Niamrei. It contains from 3000 to 4000 people; and the activity prevailing there, the appearance of opulence, and the crowd passing to and fro in the streets, give it the aspect of a town: and, in fact, we should judge such a place entitled to be called a town in Africa. In the public place is a large square, enclosed with straw mats, where the inhabitants assemble for prayer. Part of the population are Foulahs, whose wealth consists in flocks. The well of this village is thirty fathoms deep, and twenty feet in circumference. This is a surprising effort of labour, the accomplishment of which by the negroes one would think impossible, when he sees the tools which they employ. They proceed in the following manner:—the soil, to the depth of ten feet, being composed of very fine sand, they prevent its falling in by supporting the sides with planks, grooved into one another at the edges; ladders made of bark ropes enable the workmen to descend lower. They then come to a stratum of clay, which they raise with long wooden shovels of a semi-cylindrical form, and put into leathern buckets, which are drawn up

by their fellow-workmen at the top. After this they reach a stratum of calcareous and ferruginous stones, which they work with an iron tool resembling a short, broad spade. The wells are usually situated between two hills, and are shaded by trees, principally tamarinds. Every well belongs to the person who, with his slaves, has taken the trouble to dig it; and the negroes who do not possess one are obliged to pay the proprietor for the right of drawing from his. There is much in this view of African wells to remind us of the wells we read of in the Book of Genesis; and probably the mode in which they were then dug was very similar to this. The tenure of possession was the same. Water is nowhere obtained without cost. If any one drinks it at the fountain, or the river, he does so at the cost of the time and labour of going to and fro; if brought to his house by strangers, he has to pay a high price for it; and equally so, although not in money, if it be fetched by his own family or servants; even if h drink the water of his own well, it is at the cost of the capital of time, labour, food, perhaps money, which the digging of it consumed; and a direct money price is paid for it by him who drinks from the well of another. Having much studied this subject, of water, we feel assured that we, who complain more than any others of the cost, and who are supplied with it by apparatus of astonishing magnitude and cost, obtain our water, not only far more conveniently, but at a much less cost, than any other people—at a less cost than even the savage or barbarian, who may seem to receive it as the free gift of nature.

On his farther progress Mollien took notice of some of the more remarkable African trees. He describes his route as bordered with the gum-tree, the flowers of which, displayed in circular bunches, yield a most delicious perfume. He means, without doubt, the Senegal Acacia, a tree not very different from the Arabian Acacia (which yields the gum arabic), and the product of which, although of rather inferior quality and less abundantly produced, is applied to the same uses. And here, since gums afford an important article in that large list of native products which Europe would gladly receive from Africa under happier auspices than those by which that country is now governed, we may be permitted to add that gums are found on every part of the coast to which our view is now turned. The chief are (besides the Senegal mastic) the copal, and the Soudan or Turkey gum, which may all be obtained in large quantities; and near the Gambia there are forests where the gum has never hitherto been picked.*

Mollien also noticed many trees which he calls by their native name of *rates*. The bark of this tree affords a yellow dye; its leaf is without indentation, and of a beautiful green: the tree is not very high; the wood is white, and the bark is easily reduced to powder. We are glad to record these particulars, because we strongly suspect that this may prove to be the tree of whose bark Mr. Clarkson, in his 'Impolicy of the Slave Trade,' records an interesting anecdote:—In 1787 a vessel from the African coast brought to Liverpool the specimen of the bark of a tree that produced a very valuable yellow dye, and far beyond any other ever in use in this country. The virtues of it were discovered in the following manner: a gentleman, resident upon the coast, ordered some wood to be cut down to erect a hut. While the people were felling it he was standing by; during the operation, some juice flew from the bark and stained one of the ruffles of his shirt. He thought the stain would have washed out, but on wearing it again found that the yellow spot was much more bright and beautiful than before, and that it gained in lustre every subsequent time of washing. Pleased with the discovery, which he knew to be of much importance to the manufacturers of Great Britain, and for which a considerable premium had been offered, he sent home the bark now mentioned as a specimen. He is since unfortunately dead, and little hopes are to be entertained of falling in with the tree again, unless a similar accident should discover it, or a change should take place in our commercial concerns with Africa.

At the same time the baobab-tree, which we formerly noticed, was seen by our traveller. He measured one, and found it to be forty feet in circumference. Stripped at this time (February) of its foliage, it resembled an immense wooden tower. "This majestic mass is the

* Of gum and the gum-trade the reader who feels interested in the subject may find an ample and interesting account in Golberry's 'Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique,' Paris, 1802.

only monument of antiquity to be met with in Africa. I am astonished that the negroes have not paid to this tree the same honours which the Druids did to the oak; for to them the baobab is perhaps the most valuable of vegetables. Its leaves are used for leaven; its bark furnishes indestructible cordage, and the bees form their hives in the cavities of its trunk. The negroes, too, often shelter themselves from storms in its time-worn caverns. The baobab is indisputably the monarch of African trees.

At Coqué, on the frontiers of Jalooffe [Bourb-Jaloof,] Mollien went at an early hour to pay his respects to the chief of the village. Observing that above a thousand persons had assembled to pay their respects to the chief, he would have withdrawn; but it was too late. "There is a white man!" was the general cry; and the hut of the chief was soon forsaken, while the traveller found himself surrounded on all sides by a large multitude. So eager was their curiosity that most of them left behind some part of their apparel, and they pushed for a nearer view, and clapped their hands, crying "The white man for ever!" However such exclamations might tickle the vanity of a Frenchman, there were others which could not but excite alarm, for "Down with the Christian!" was distinctly heard from the Moors, of whom there were many in the place. Many of the negroes laughed at his face, and the length of his nose was a special object of their ridicule. Neither did his dress escape their criticism: one put his hands into the pockets (which were empty); another looked with astonishment at the stitching of his shoes and the thickness of their soles. Attempts were made to disperse the crowd, for there was a degree of tumult and bustle which might have led one to conclude that the whole village had revolted. Mollien could not refrain from laughter at the extreme curiosity of these negroes. This laugh drew from them another, followed, from every mouth, by the exclamation, "He laughed! He laughed!" In the mean time, as the crowd kept augmenting, and the gloomy bigotry of the Moors made them urgent in directing attention to the fact of his being a Christian, the traveller tried to escape; but, finding every avenue closed, and resolving at all risks to extricate himself from a situation that was becoming critical, he urged on his spirited horse, whose movements soon dispersed the crowd, and allowed him to make his way to the hut of the chief. The crowd, however, followed him there, and their eager curiosity made them so trespass upon the respect which they usually pay to their chief, that he withdrew to another hut, and Mollien returned to his quarters on horseback. He there received a message from the chief informing him that it would be imprudent for him to show himself in public. The chief also sent him, by his son, a dinner, consisting of kouskous, with butter and tamarinds. And this attention on his part served in some degree to allay the ferment among the inhabitants.

The next day the traveller received a number of visits; among others one from the wife of the chief. Her person was loaded with rings of gold and silver, but her countenance and carriage were not deficient in dignity and grace. She seated herself on the ground, and declined, as an honour of which woman was unworthy, the invitation to be seated on the couch, by his side.

The soil of the kingdom of Kayor is sandy, and of a reddish colour; but it is fertile, for it produces in great abundance millet, cotton, and indigo.

The tamarind, the baobab, the gum-tree, and other species of mimosas, are the most common trees in this country. But among the rocks of Cape Verde, the date-tree, the papaw, and the pine-apple are also found. These, which now first occur, become common farther down the coast: the most characteristic of them is the papaw-tree, which offers a rather striking figure; its hollow stem, about twenty feet high, supporting a head, composed not of branches, but of large leaves at the end of very long foot-stalks. The fleshy fruit, which is of a dusky orange-yellow colour, and about the size and shape of a small melon, grows suspended upon the naked trunk, just below the leafy head. The tree itself, and even the fruit, abound in an acrid milky juice, but the fruit is eaten with sugar and pepper, like a melon; and when the half-grown fruit is properly pickled, it is little inferior to the pickled mango of the East Indies. The acrid juice of the fruit may be discharged by soaking the slices in water, after which it may be eaten either boiled or baked. The fruit is liked by the natives, but Europeans do not seem to relish it highly. The negroes use the leaves instead of soap, in washing. The growth of the

papaw-tree is cited by Ashmun (formerly governor of Liberia) as a marked example of the power of vegetation. He assures us that in the gardens of Liberia papaw-trees may be seen,

[Papaw-Tree; with male and female flowers, ovary, and section of a seed.]

not more than fifteen months from the seed, already fifteen inches round the stem, and fifteen feet high, with several pecks of ripening fruit.

In Kayor the heat is intense during the day; but the great coolness of the nights restores to the body that vigour of which the continued warmth of climates less hot by day often deprives the exhausted frame. This advantage lessens as we proceed southward from Kayor, the days being there hotter and the nights less cool.

Horned cattle and sheep are numerous in Kayor. Our old friends, the Foulahs, are found here in considerable numbers with their flocks and herds; and the profit they make by selling their animals to Europeans is considerable. When a grand ceremony takes place, such as a marriage or funeral, they sometimes slay as many as ten oxen, which they distribute among their relations and neighbours.

Most of the village chiefs possess a horse. The other domestic animals are camels, hogs, dogs; and of poultry, fowls and ducks. But pigs and dogs are regarded as unclean by the Moslems, and, although those who keep flocks have dogs to guard them, they seldom give them anything to eat or drink: nevertheless, hydrophobia is not known among them, although commonly considered by us to result from such privations.

The ass of Kayor is very strong and steady. Mollien, with generous zeal and gratitude, vindicates the race, and extols the virtues of his own ass:—"Mine was of this country, and the services which he rendered me require a few words in vindication of the honour of his race,

constantly insulted by Europeans, notwithstanding the eloquent pleadings of Buffon in his favour. He is even a continual object of ridicule among the negroes, who, however, derive great advantages from his services in travelling through these desert countries. The Serracolots [Serrawollies] alone seem justly to appreciate the utility of this animal. I have seen my beast pass several days without eating or drinking, and, notwithstanding the unparalleled privations which he endured, he never slackened his pace. A few dry bamboo-leaves, or a handful of grass, parched by the heat of the sun, often sufficed to recruit his strength after toilsome journeys across sandy deserts, or over steep mountains. The agility with which he ascended the highest rocks was astonishing. A large hole was at length worn between his shoulders, which we were obliged to fill with straw and mud. Notwithstanding the acute pain which this wound must undoubtedly have occasioned, the courageous animal seemed to have lost none of his vigour, and, after loading him with the baggage, I or my Marabout mounted behind it. Long privations, sickness, and fatigue had broken his natural obstinacy. At the passage of the numerous branches of the Rio Grande he manifested not the least fear. For a whole month he lived only on the grass, which he browsed as he trotted along. The valuable qualities of this quadruped ought to secure him a preference to the horse for those who travel in the interior of Africa. The negroes esteem the small black asses most; but the red, of which mine was one, are scarcely inferior to them in agility or strength."

The wild animals are the same as in the neighbouring countries. The monkey, however, is not common, owing to the scarcity of water. The rocks of the Cape Verde serve as retreats for "palmated rats," by which, no doubt, the species better known as the "Barbary mouse" is intended; in Barbary known as Phār Azēff, the Palmetto Mouse. Its flesh is declared by

[Palmetto Mouse.]

Mollien to be as good eating as that of the hare. Rabbits are plentiful, and much infest the *lugars*, or cultivated fields, of the natives.

Serpents of various species infest the length and breadth of Kayor in a remarkable degree. Some of them are very large, and their bites dangerous. The natives believe that their gree-grees afford a sufficient protection against their venom; and, in fact, as the Sieur Brue observes, one would think there was a league of amity between them and the negroes; for they go freely into the huts, crawl about at pleasure, devouring the rats, and sometimes the fowls; but seldom doing injury to man or receiving injury from him. If they do hap to be bitten, they burn the part, or fire gunpowder upon it. This makes a scar, which draws out the venom if the application be timely; if not, death speedily ensues. The Serreres, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and who still are found in it, particularly about Cape Verde, which

they hold in possession, having no greegrees or Marabouts to inspire them with confidence, are more afraid of the serpents, and appear actually to suffer more from them; they keep out of their way as much as possible, and omit no means of destroying them when in their power. They lay snares for them very ingeniously, and eat such as they take, counting them very good eating, as they very probably are. Some of these snakes are described as being twenty-five feet long, and a foot and a half in diameter; but these are stated to be less dangerous than those of two inches thick and five feet long; at least they are more easily perceived, and their motions are less active than those of the small ones. Some are so green as to be scarcely distinguishable from the grass; others are spotted, or else variegated in several bright colours, and there is said to be a red species whose bite is incurable.

Of birds, Mollien says that the raven, the witwall, the dove, the guinea-fowl, are seen everywhere. Whole families of sparrows and of humming-birds [he must mean sun-birds] of different colours sport around the hut of the negro, while partridges and lapwings fill the *lugars*, and the immense baobab supports the enormous nest of the pelican.

The kingdom of Kayor is what we may call a nepotism, or one of those in which the nephews of the late king, by his sister, succeed preferably to his brother, or his son.

The old travellers, who seem to have had a clearer idea than some of later date respecting the true character of the native governments, speak with commendation of the government of Kayor, although they admit that the theory of it is better than its practical working. The king, or Damel, has under him two officers of the highest rank; the one, called *Kondi*, presides over all military affairs; the other, called the *Grand Jarafo*, is at the head of all civil affairs, and is also chief in all the courts of justice; the Damel himself having no power to reverse his decisions. He makes circuits through all the provinces, to hear complaints and to redress grievances; so that in this respect the Jaloofs of Kayor are more privileged than any other negro nation. Another officer, called the Alkair—a word of Moorish origin—is treasurer to the crown, and within a narrower compass exercises nearly the same functions as the Jarafo. To him are responsible the subordinate alkairs, or alcaides, who are the chiefs or head-men, and, in some sort, justices of the peace of the several villages in which they reside; although there is the right of appeal, in all cases of consequence, to the Jarafo, when he performs his circuit. It is also the province of the alcaides to levy the rights of the crown, and the taxes imposed for the support of the government. The Kondi, who, in virtue of his office, is lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, and commander-in-chief of the army, sometimes makes the tour of the kingdom with the Jarafo, to examine into the conduct of the alkairs.

Vasconcelos, quoted by Barbot, affirms that these negroes of the coast (meaning Kayor, &c.) far exceed those of the Senegal in the art of government; that they are more exact in all the duties of administration; that their policy is more extended, and their schemes of security and aggrandisement more refined, more profound, more secret;—in a word, that they are more equitable in their rewards and punishments, public and private, and in their civil and military administration. Here the council of the king is composed of persons the most venerable for their age and wisdom, and the judges of the most experienced and intelligent men in the nation. This assertion is only disputed by other travellers as far as regards the equity with which justice is administered. But this is explained by the fact that the system is better than the agents to whom its operations are intrusted, and whose venality often renders its benefits of no effect. It appears also that, whatever the power of the grand justiciary (*Jarafo*) may be, as between subject and subject, he has no power to interfere between king and subject; and hence there is a vast amount of injustice and oppression which that functionary could not, if he were so disposed, redress.

It would appear, from various cases which came under our notice, that, although the sovereign is precluded, by the authority of the *Jarafo*, from acting *judicially* with oppression, the stream of power, checked in one direction, flows with greater impulse in another, in which it can move unrestrained; and in which it does act so ruinously as to render the presence of any check a doubtful benefit. The case is that of a man who cannot take away his neighbour's

eggs, but whom no one can call to account if he chooses to burn down his neighbour's house to roast his own eggs. Thus, at the time of Mollien's visit, the king was visiting with military execution, and enriching himself by the spoil of the villages in the north of his dominion, under the pretence of punishing the alleged murder of one of his slaves. It seems that the king has only to declare certain villages his enemies, to do what he pleases with them, as a kingly prerogative then comes into play with which no authority in the kingdom can interfere. The people against whom he acts, knowing no other resource, sometimes defend themselves, and not always without success. The object in such acts was gain; and since this gain was chiefly realised by the sale of the captives into slavery, there is much reason to hope that the reduced state of the slave-trade on this part of the coast may have tended to the suppression of such unnatural aggressions of the king upon his own subjects.

One check to the power of the sovereign is found in the sort of feudal power of certain chiefs or petty princes, the union of whose severally small territories appears to have formed the present kingdom. These often dispute and even resist the orders of the Damel. Mollien mentions a curious instance of one who, knowing that the king intended to take his life, appeared before him with a retinue of four hundred men, declaring that he never went abroad without that number of attendants. The tyrant had ordered a deep pit to be dug at his feet, and covered with a mat; he desired the chief whose destruction he meditated to seat himself on the mat; but the latter, guessing the perfidious intentions of the despot, replied, "Damel, I am thy slave, and worthy of reposing only in the dust on which thy feet have trod." By which adroit answer he evaded the fate prepared for him.

It seems that the Damel is rather difficult of access to his own subjects, unless matters have much altered of late years. When any great lord, even though he may be a relation, has procured an audience of the king, he puts off his frock at the entrance of the court, and remains quite naked from the girdle upward. When he comes within sight of the king, he bows down his head, and often with both hands strews dust upon his head and face. He then rises, and repeats the same ceremony from distance to distance, until he comes within two paces of the king. He there remains and makes known the occasion of his seeking an audience. This he does on his knees; and then rises and stands in a bent posture, with his hands resting on his knees, and at intervals casts dust upon his forehead. He dares cast no glance upon the "dread majesty" in whose presence he stands; who, on his part, conducts himself generally with affected indifference and inattention, but fails not to give an answer, with all the dignity he can command; after which the petitioner falls back among the attending courtiers.

But the greatest state is assumed when audience is to be given to a foreign envoy or to a European. There is the grandest display that can be commanded of horses in the enclosure of the palace, and of guards, through which the envoy has to pass before he reaches the royal presence. All this is to show the king's magnificence; and to the same end, the monarch himself assumes his glorious attire; and then it is that he makes himself more exquisitely ridiculous in the eyes of the whites than on any other occasions. This observation applies very generally to the different negro courts; but scarcely to those of the Foulahs.

In Kayor, and in other kingdoms where there are Moors, they enjoy more freedom of access to the royal presence than any other persons. So do the religious men. But to none are allowed the same marks of attention which are bestowed on Europeans. They alone are exempted from throwing dust upon their heads when they enter the presence of the king. They make their obeisance to the Damel, who then reaches out his hand to put upon theirs. He then places himself, sitting or lying, upon a couch decked with a quilt covered with red leather, and invites the white man to sit down by him, and puts such questions as occur to him. The king always smokes on such occasions. A pipe is in Africa, as in the East, an essential appendage of royal state.

Also, as in the East, there is no approaching the Damel, or any other king, without a present; and they not only expect such offerings when they receive, but when they pay, a visit: and this makes them most unpleasant neighbours to the European settlements, as they take good care that their visits shall not be unfrequent. The whites are obliged to be always

on their guard against the introduction of any new practice; for one precedent is regarded by these princes as quite a sufficient ground on which they may ever after claim a present on the like occasions. Greater and more skilful beggars do not breathe than these Jaloof princes; among whom, in such matters, the sense of shame is altogether unknown. They will often begin by asking a trifle, which they do not want, in order to feel your pulse; and if they find you ready to give, they speedily become more importunate, until no alternative remains but to give them whatever they ask or to break with them. If you will not give, they will borrow; and to turn the loan into a gift is with them an easy operation. Instances have occurred in which a king has pleasantly contrived to strip a European envoy almost entirely naked, by successively admiring the several articles of his attire, and expressing a desire to try them. M. Dancourt, an envoy to the Damel, was thus deprived of his brocade waistcoat, his stockings, hat, and shoes; and would have had to return to the settlement naked, had he not happened to be in possession of another suit.

It deserves to be remarked that, except on solemn or state occasions, the Damel and other negro kings differ little in dress, behaviour, or attendance, from their subjects.

In the ordinary administration, if a matter requires much deliberation, or the fate of a culprit is to be decided, a council of elders is assembled, and, from the evidence before them, the majority decide upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. But they do not decree the punishment, as that is the prerogative of the *alkair*, or village chief. In this we have a rudiment of trial by jury; and the function of the elders in this case reminds one of the analogous functions of the elders in the towns and villages of Israel.

There is a trial by ordeal where the difficulty is too knotty, or the evidence too nicely balanced, for the judges to reach a conclusion. In this case the blacksmith heats a piece of iron red-hot, and the accused is obliged to pass his tongue over it slowly three several times. If he exhibits any signs of pain he is declared guilty, but if the iron makes no impression upon him, the suit is dismissed. Upon the conclusion of this ordeal, they do not however act with the same strictness as in causes established by evidence; for one whom the ordeal declares guilty is banished the realm, but never corporally or capitally punished. Among the Jaloof nations upon the river Gambia this ordeal, for theft at least, takes a different form. Moore tells us that the accused are made to dip their fingers in boiling water, for it is believed that if innocent the water will not scald them; but that, if guilty, it will. He gives an instance in which several persons, all innocent, got their fingers well scalded by this operation.

What we have said in the preceding chapter with reference to the warfare of the Jaloofs applies to Kayor. A few of the facts which more specially characterise the warlike operations of that country may, however, be produced. The army, on its march, or encamped, is furnished with provisions by the women of the villages through which it passes, or in the neighbourhood. Hundreds of them attend the camp every day with live stock for the use of the troops, as well as with roots, fruits, and all kinds of vegetables. Sometimes as many as five hundred dishes of kouskous are sent into the camp, dressed and seasoned in a variety of different methods. Such of them as best suit the palate of the Damel he retains; and distributes the rest among the officers and soldiers, who do ample justice to this regale.

One remarkable fact is, that, although there is a sort of general command in the Damel, when at the head of his army, and he gives his orders to the Kondi, or general-in-chief, who delivers them to the troops, yet the real and practical command and responsibility is in that officer himself. The king cannot order a retreat without the order of the Kondi; and if he chooses to do so of his own accord, he is regarded as a coward, and dethroned on the spot, as one no longer capable of discharging the royal functions with dignity. In this and in other instances, the government of Kayor exhibits the operation of principles which one scarcely expects to find in Africa, and which appear well worthy of more careful investigation than they have hitherto received.

There are evidently some practical and stringent checks on the power of the Damel, although at the first view no prince can appear more absolute, or more revered by his subjects. Perhaps things may go on the Turkish principle, which holds that the Sultan has a perfect right to cut

off fourteen heads a-day, with or without reason; but which deems him a tyrant if he cuts off more. Probably there is more of indirect understanding than rule in the matter, and that the instinct of circumstances suggests to the king the limit which he may not overpass without the danger of provoking a revolt. In the early portion of this chapter we adduced an instance in which the king, after having seized a number of his own subjects to sell into slavery, was afraid to allow the French to repeat the operation. Yet they sometimes resorted to this method —attacking a village and taking away the inhabitants—as a way of making the king pay his debts, after which they balanced accounts with his majesty, and how?—*by paying him for the number they had taken above their due*,—a most atrocious proceeding, of which only "consciences seared as with a hot iron," by the slave-trade, could be capable. The historian (Labat) admits it would be better not to make a practice of it—not because it was a crime, but because it was a danger—the danger of rousing the implacable enmity of the nation. It was understood that the king himself was so absolute that he could put to death, sell into slavery, or confiscate the goods of any of his subjects, without regard to rank or profession. And Barbot mentions the case of a Marabout, whose persons are usually held sacred, but who was sold to him by the Alkair of Rufisco, by special order of the Damel, for certain misdemeanors. This person was so much affected by the indignity, that he was two months on board the ship before he would speak one word.

Most of the other African nations with which we are acquainted have adopted the use of fire-arms. The natives of Kayor have not, however, entirely relinquished the weapons of their ancestors; and the lance and bow still continue the principal weapons of their armies. The sabre and the poniard are also in use.

Mollien informs us that the principal diseases which afflict the people of Kayor are the ophthalmia, the itch, the leprosy; which last covers those whom it attacks to such a degree as to turn them almost entirely white. The children are subject to a swelling of the stomach, which leaves them as they grow older. At the end of the rainy season colds and pulmonary complaints prevail. Small-pox is not very destructive; inoculation, which is practised by all the negroes, doubtless contributes to prevent the ravages of this dreadful malady. The art of physic is practised exclusively by the Marabouts, as among the old Hebrews by the priests and Levites; and their practice is confined to the application of a few simple remedies, or to the composition of certain charms, written on paper, which they make their patients burn, and drink the ashes.

To the trades of which we have formerly written, that of the fisherman is added by the Jaloofs of the coast, and is included, as a distinct "caste," in that general disrepute under which the smiths, the leather-workers, the weavers, and the singing-men labour, not only in this but in other nations. Here also, however, it is only to the last of these that a grave is denied.

The commodities which serve as standards for the value of others, in their dealings by barter, are cotton cloths and millet; but the traders who visit St. Louis and Goree have learned the value of silver. For this metal only they in general dispose of their cattle and horses to Europeans. They nevertheless prefer English copper coins; for as it requires a larger number and greater weight to make up the same value, it seems to them as if they were so much the more sensibly the richer. The silver which they carry into the interior of the country is used for making trinkets. For the cotton cloths made by the negro weavers they pay in millet, and the blacksmiths are paid with cloths. Gold, amber, and coral are given in exchange for slaves, and the latter for horses and oxen.

Mohammedanism—such as we have described—is professed by the majority of the natives of Kayor; but Paganism continues to be the religion of the court, as well as of a considerable proportion of the people.

In 1796, when the profession of Islam in Kayor was considerably less extensive than at present, some events occurred which are interesting from illustrating one of the modes in which Mohammedanism has been propagated in this quarter of Africa, and from the manifestation which it offers of those high and generous qualities which dignify the character of man,

and which it is especially pleasant to find among the men of Africa, whose character has been so unworthily depreciated.

At that time the king of Foota-toro, Almami Abdul-kader, a rigid Moslem, took it into his head to force his religion down the throats of his Pagan neighbours. At the beginning of the year Mungo Park was at Teesee, in Kasson, where the king's brother resided, when this personage was astounded to receive an embassy from Abdul-kader, requiring him to convene an assembly of the inhabitants. In this assembly the Foota-toro ambassadors publicly proclaimed their king's determination, "That unless all the people of Kasson would embrace the Mohammedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying the eleven public prayers, he (Abdul-kader) could not possibly remain neuter in the present contest (between Kasson and Kajaaga or Galam), but would certainly join his arms to those of Kajaaga." A message of this nature from so powerful a sovereign could not fail to create great alarm, and the people of Teesee, after a long consultation, agreed to conform themselves to his good pleasure, humiliating as it was to them. Accordingly, one and all publicly offered up the eleven prayers, which were considered a sufficient testimony of their having renounced Paganism and embraced the profession of Islam.

About the middle of the following year Park arrived at Malacotta, where some traders, recently arrived, had brought intelligence of the results of a war between this same Abdul-kader, king of Foota-toro, and the Damel of Kayor, or, as Park calls him, "Damel, king of the Jaloofs." The events of this war soon became a favourite subject with the singing-men, and the common topic of conversation in all the kingdoms upon the Senegal and Gambia.

It seems that the same zeal for the propagation of Islam which induced Abdul-kader to send the above message to Kasson led him to send a similar embassy to the Damel.

"The ambassador on this occasion," reports Park, "was accompanied by two of the principal bushreens, who carried each a large knife, fixed on the top of a long pole. As soon as he had procured admission into the presence of Damel and announced the pleasure of his sovereign, he ordered the bushreens to present the emblems of his mission. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambassador explained himself as follows:—'With this knife,' said he, 'Abdul-kader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mohammedan faith; and with this other knife Abdul-kader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it—take your choice.' Damel coolly told the ambassador that he had no choice to make—he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this answer the ambassador was civilly dismissed. Abdul-kader took his measures accordingly, and with a powerful army invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings, as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three days' journey into the country of the Jaloofs. He had, indeed, met with no opposition, but his army had suffered so much from the scarcity of water that several of his men had died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering-place in the woods, where his men, having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation they were attacked by Damel before daybreak, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death, as they lay asleep, by the Jaloof horses; others were killed in attempting to make their escape; and a still greater number were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Abdul-kader himself. This ambitious, or rather frantic prince, who but a month before had sent the threatening message to Damel, was now himself led into his presence as a miserable captive. The behaviour of Damel on this occasion is never mentioned by the singing-men but in terms of the highest approbation; and it was indeed so extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows:—'Abdul-kader, answer me this question: If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have treated

me?' 'I would have thrust my spear into your heart,' returned Abdul-kader with great firmness; 'and I know that a similar fate awaits me.' 'Not so,' said Damel; 'my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain by dipping it in your own, but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I will not therefore kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours, and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you.' Abdul-kader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months; at the end of which period Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota-toro, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it. It was told me at Malacotta by the negroes—it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia—by some of the French at Goree—and confirmed by nine slaves who were taken prisoners along with Abdul-kader by the watering-place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies."

It has been mentioned that the Damel prided himself on being the monarch of two kingdoms. To explain this, as well as to produce an important piece of West-African history, it should be mentioned that, a few years before, Kayor, with other neighbouring countries, were portions of the extensive dominions of the Bourb-Jaloof, or sovereign of the Jaloofs. When a barbarous kingdom happens to be extensive, we generally find that the want of centralization obliges the sovereign to divide his kingdom into provinces, the governments of which are severally intrusted to governors or viceroys, with almost regal powers. We see this everywhere. So it was in the kingdom of Bourb-Jaloof. In process of time the governor of Kayor revolted, and got himself acknowledged king; and this example was followed by others, so that the Bûrba, or king, soon found himself stripped of the best parts of his dominions, and reduced to the comparatively inconsiderable territory which now forms the kingdom of Jalooffe or Bourb-Jaloof, which is still, however, one of the most important kingdoms in this quarter. The Bûrba did not quietly submit to his loss. He employed himself with effect in raising up jealousies between the new king of Kayor and his subjects, and took advantage of the disturbances he had caused, by appearing with his army, when he defeated and killed the new prince in a pitched battle. Had the abilities and temper of the Bûrba-Jaloof been equal to the occasion, Kayor would, in all probability, have been permanently restored to his dominion; but by treating the people with great severity, as revolted subjects, he excited their resentment and their spirit. The principal persons fled to throw themselves upon the protection of the Tin, or king, of Baol, which adjoins Kayor on the south, and begged his assistance to expel the tyrant, and put them into a condition to choose a king by free election, according to their ancient customs. The Tin, whose name was Latir-Fal-Sûkabé, readily granted their request; but it is not known whether he had already conceived the design which he afterwards executed, or only acted under the apprehension that the Bûrba might invade him next, if he gave him time to settle quietly in the re-conquered territory of Kayor. He therefore speedily raised an army, which was greatly augmented by the malcontents from Kayor. He soon brought the enemy to battle under disadvantageous circumstances, and in the action the Bûrba-Jaloof was defeated and slain, after losing the flower of his troops.

The Tin, now finding himself at the head of a victorious army, openly avowed the design of making himself king of Kayor. To get himself acknowledged, he called together an assembly, or palaver, of all the grandees, which was held in a small plain where he had encamped. Having represented all he had done to recover their liberty for them, he desired them forthwith to proceed to the election of a prince competent to govern them with equity, and to render them formidable to their enemies. He added that, having himself considered of a person fit for this high dignity, he found no one so suitable for it as himself, and concluded with the fearfully significant hint, that he should count all those as his enemies who did not approve of his election. He then pronounced the dreadful words *Desoule Sabai!* which, among these people, is a solemn and terrible imprecation against, and defiance of, all opponents. The use of this celebrated expression forms, in the opinion of these people, an affront

which blood only can expiate; and blood would have been shed, had not his electors been overawed by the actual presence of the army. As it was, they had no remedy but silently to acknowledge Latir-Fal as their king. As soon as he was proclaimed he entered at once upon the government, without waiting to bathe in a particular fountain, which had always been the ceremony of inauguration at Kayor. He well rewarded those of the electors who appeared to be really his friends, and took the title of DAMEL instead of that of TIN, which he had borne as king of Baol.

When the grandees came to pay him homage, they were clad only in a pair of drawers, and prostrated themselves at a distance on the ground, kneeling thrice, and each time throwing dust upon their heads. Latir-Fal was very strict in exacting these marks of submission, the Marabouts alone being permitted to speak to him covered. This prince is no other than the same Damel whose intercourse with the Sieur Brue has already engaged our notice.

Ever since the kingdom of Kayor has remained separated from that of Bourb-Jaloof. Baol was, however, ultimately enabled to separate itself from Kayor, and, during a considerable portion of the last century, to maintain its existence as a separate kingdom. But the death of the last king of this dynasty, without a closely-related heir, gave the Damel of Kayor, who then (1786) reigned, an opportunity of re-uniting that small kingdom to his dominions.

We have already had occasion to state that all the Jaloof nation was anciently united under the dominion of the Bourb-i-Jaloof, or Emperor of the Jaloofs, which title is still retained by their successors, who rule over what was originally only the central district of the kingdom, but which even now, after the separation of several important states, is territorially the largest of all the Jaloof kingdoms. Its ruler also seems, in some sense of barren respect, to be looked up to by the Jaloofs generally as the head of their whole nation—although not in that character exercising or entitled to any superiority or control over the monarchs or subjects of the severed states. The kingdom itself retains the distinctive title of Jalooffe.*

The kingdom of Jalooffe is but little known, being hemmed in and cut off from the waters, which are as the doors by which Europeans have had access to the nations of Africa. At certain points it is not far from the sea, not far from the Senegal, not far from the Gambia; but from the sea it is cut off by Kayor, from the Senegal by Waallo, and from the Gambia by Salum. Foota-toro lies behind it eastward.

The manners of the Jaloofs have been so fully described in the preceding pages, that in the remaining kingdoms of that great nation, we shall confine ourselves to a few leading facts and anecdotes.

We know of no traveller who has traversed this country, save Mollien, who passed through its central breadth, journeying from Kayor to Foota-toro. Extensive forests separate the kingdoms of Kayor and Jaloof, passing which, the first village in this kingdom reached by Mollien was Bahene, where he was received and entertained with the usual hospitality of the Jaloofs. The head-man, or chief, did not however allow him to depart in the morning without questioning him, according to the custom of the country, as to the object of his journey. He seemed satisfied with the Frenchman's answer—That he was going to purchase gold in Woolli.

The inhabitants of the next village, Tiaraka, had never seen a white man. They examined every part of the traveller's clothing with great attention, but their admiration was above all excited by his double-barrelled gun. "We are only beasts!" they cried, in the excess of their astonishment. While the men fixed their wondering looks on his weapons, the women contemplated his features; some seemed to express a kind of admiration, but the greater part expressed nothing but horror. One of them, notwithstanding the length of his beard, inquired if he was a woman, conceiving, probably, that his fair complexion was not sufficiently masculine. "These circumstances," he writes, "engaged my attention and made me forget my fatigues. I felt pleasure in observing the impression made upon these good people by the presence of a white man. I laughed at the reflections and the tales which the wiseacres of

* It is usually in maps marked Bourb Jaloof and Bourb-i-Jaloof, but the prefix merely denotes "empire" or "kingdom," and should not therefore be retained in the proper name.

the village would make upon our manners and customs; their ignorance amused me. How much must ours divert the Turkish or Persian ambassadors who visit our country! I am sure they cannot think us less ridiculous than the negroes, by whom I was then surrounded, appeared to me."

In travelling from this place Mollien stopped at a well which the natives were digging, and was not a little astonished to hear the workmen, at the bottom of the well, break forth into an extempore song in his praise. Praise is sweet, and the traveller paid for it with a leaf of tobacco.

The next village was inhabited by Foulahs, whose astonishment at his appearance was as great as that of the blackest negroes could have been. One woman declared that he must have lived at the bottom of the earth, where the sun never shone; and finishing with a cry of horror, she covered her face with her upper garment, and hastened into the hut. Yet Mollien declares, that among the Foulahs he had seen men as white as himself. At this very village one was presented to him as belonging to his own race. His complexion and features were really similar to ours; and it was only from minute inspection that the traveller could convince himself that he was not an Albino. From the manner in which he was presented, it is however evident that such men must be rare among this people.

At Pampi our traveller had a pleasing interview with one of the king's sons. "The prince desired me to sit down on his bed, and placed himself on the sand at my feet. After inquiring the purport of my journey, he ordered his wives to be called, that they might come and salute me. He then used the most persuasive entreaties to induce me to stay with him a few days: he assured me that I should not be at any expense, that he would provide for my horse and people; and while he thus addressed me he kindly pressed my hand. At last, seeing that I was absolutely bent on going, he himself came and held my stirrup as I mounted my horse, and conducted me to the place where I had left my baggage. Four grains of coral and four leaves of tobacco composed the present which I offered to the son of a king; and he was so pleased with the gift that during the whole time we were together he never ceased to praise my liberality."

It was in February, and for many days the cold had been so sharp that our lively Frenchman soon perceived that there was something besides heat to be dreaded in Africa. The check given to perspiration threw him into a violent fever, and obliged him to stay at Tioën. "Without physicians and without medicines I trusted in Providence alone to save me. Some bottles of infusion of tamarinds—a regimen I have always adopted—allayed the violence of my disorder. The attachment which my Marabout, Boukari, felt for me made him extremely uneasy about my situation. He quickly traced some magic character in the sand, which, by enabling him to presage my speedy recovery, restored his usual composure. My host, whose principles did not exactly coincide with those of our medical men, threatened me with death if I did not eat; and his wife, who regarded the decisions of her husband as oracles, in pursuance of his prescription, was busily employed, ever since the morning, in preparing for me a mess of boiled millet mixed with sour milk and tamarinds. These good people came every moment to my hut to inquire how the white man found himself. The husband heaped clothes upon clothes upon me, while the wife kindled a fire in my hut. Neither did she confine herself to these kind attentions, for she even made me a proposal which has often since been addressed to me—she offered me her daughter in marriage. The patient shivering with ague feels no very strong desire for such a connexion; therefore, notwithstanding the importance of the proposed match, I thought proper to reject it."

In his further progress our traveller tells us that he avoided entering several villages in which there were no Marabouts; and that, in general, he scarcely ever stopped in places where he knew there were no Mohammedan negroes, because he ran more risk there than in others—the Pagan negroes being more addicted to drunkenness and pillage than those who have been converted to Islam.

As illustrative of the internal slavery in Africa, we are much interested in the account which Mollien gives of the village of Pacour, to which he next came:—"This village belongs to one

man, who had peopled it with his slaves; their number, already considerable, is continually increasing. In times of famine he has bought these families with the produce of his lands, and under his paternal protection they all live in abundance. Their labour augments his wealth, and furnishes him with the means of doubling their number almost every year. The village of Pacour is one of the most beautiful that I have met with. Surrounded with quickset hedges pruned with care, shaded by a small wood of mimosas arranged in the form of diamonds, it resembled a park enlivened with cottages. When I appeared the slaves thronged around me, eager to be the first to render me any service in their power. Although the master was absent, these kind negroes, after a little consideration, resolved to lodge and feed me, expressing the regret their master would feel at having missed the opportunity of seeing a white man, and receiving him in a manner worthy of his rank. These certainly were not the sentiments of barbarous slaves. But if the conduct of these negroes towards me proved the goodness of their own hearts, it reflected not less honour on their master. He must doubtless treat them with kindness, since the condition to which they were reduced had not stifled the excellent disposition with which nature had endowed them."

This passage shows a mode of founding a village, and of becoming a chieftain, which is very common in this and the more southern parts of Africa. We are glad to have found some clearer information on this subject, which we here offer the reader.

It very frequently happens that when a man has been prudent enough to save a little property, he buys a few slaves, and builds a town with them. By the fruits of their labour he purchases a few more, till he becomes a powerful chief. As the number of his slaves is seen to increase, free people seek protection from him, and reside in his town, which tends to increase his power and consequence. The following extract from a Report of the Sierra Leone Company to a committee of the House of Commons will throw further light on the subject:—

"The state of society in Africa affords, to an individual of superior knowledge and activity, ready means of raising himself to a state of wealth and power. Whoever can possess himself of a few slaves may become the head of a town. Success in the cultivation of rice, or in the trade between Europeans on the coast and the natives of the interior, will enable him to increase the number of his domestic slaves, and consequently his strength and influence. Many freemen then seek his protection and put themselves under his government. In this way some of the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone have arisen in a single generation. A feeble-minded or debauched successor, by selling, under a variety of pretexts (most of which the superstitions of his country supply), those whom in policy as well as justice he ought to protect, destroys in a still shorter period the power which has been thus raised. The free people desert him, and possibly his town falls a prey to some enterprising chieftains in the neighbourhood."

In proceeding from this place towards the metropolis of the kingdom, Wamkrore,* through a well-wooded country, forests full of gum-trees, paths strewed with ostrich feathers, and the frequent view of herds of antelopes, which fled with incredible swiftness, the traveller rested at noontide in the woods, to take a frugal repast, and availed himself of the repose to set his journal in order. While thus occupied, some travellers passed; astonished at seeing a white man in their forests, they seated themselves by his side, and familiarly entered into conversation with him on the subject of his journey. "In the various countries which form the interior of Africa," remarks the traveller, "there is no regular police; but every individual performs its duties: for wherever he goes the traveller is asked his name, that of his family, and the place of his birth: this is the customary salutation. By refusing to answer he would excite suspicion, and might even compromise his liberty. The Bible and Homer furnish us with examples of this ancient custom."

On leaving these woods, Wamkrore lies in the view before the traveller. This metropolis of Jalooffe is no more than a village, although very large, and the most considerable in the kingdom. It is situated in a plain which is completely open.

* As written in French, Ouamkrore—doubtless the same as the Warghogh of Major Gray's map.

The Bourb, or King, soon heard of the stranger's arrival, and sent to desire his attendance. Passing through a straw hut, the door of which was made of planks cut with a hatchet, Mollien entered a court with a similar door, and beheld the Emperor of the Jaloofs seated under a tree upon a sheep-skin. He was an old man of low stature, whose open countenance announced a sincere and frank disposition. Nothing distinguished from the other negroes, save the respect with which he was treated by them. He had nothing on his head, which was completely bald, and his white tunic (which our traveller regards as a badge of royalty) was falling to rags. He amused himself sometimes by rolling small fruit between his hands, sometimes by smoking.

The traveller seated himself before the monarch with his hat on * and his gun by his side. A numerous and silent circle soon gathered round, all eyes being fixed upon the white man.

The monarch addressed several questions to him; asking particularly if he had brought any brandy. On receiving a negative, and hearing that he was going to Woolli for gold, the Bourb exclaimed, "There is no gold then in thy country!" He, however, promised him a guide on the morrow. And Mollien remarks, with not the most amiable or correct feeling—"The visits paid by a European traveller to an African sovereign are always the more tiresome, as even these black princes have an etiquette that must be observed [and why not?]. The pride of a white man is hurt on account of the distance at which he is obliged to keep from the prince. Besides, these kings rarely address themselves directly to a stranger, whom they suppose to be ignorant of their language. Their dignity requires them to employ the medium of an interpreter." This seems to us written in a very poor spirit. Surely the African princes have as much right to etiquette and respect as any other princes. Most of them appear to behave to European travellers with remarkable good temper and deference. But it illustrates one of the miserable consequences of the slave trade—that, from being accustomed to regard the blacks as a degraded race, as beings to be bought and sold—the bond-slaves of the earth—a white man cannot bring himself without repugnance to treat the potentates of that complexion with common respect; and persons who in their own countries would not dream of appearing before a crowned head, or if they did would be undistinguished in the crowd, deem themselves entitled to feel offended pride if they are not treated by the African kings as equals, or even superiors—and take upon themselves to refuse to them even those common marks of respect which every petty functionary in Europe expects to receive.

At length the Bourb-i-Jaloof ordered the traveller to be reconducted to his tent; and in the evening he gave an ox to be killed in honour of his arrival. This good cheer produced much hilarity; and every one was forward to relate the dangers he had escaped from the Moors, whom the traveller so much resembled, and from whose depredative incursions the Jaloofs of this kingdom, as well as of Waallo, suffer greatly..

Wishing to set off the next day, the traveller repaired early in the morning to the king's hut, to apply for the promised guide. The Bourb-i-Jaloof was still in bed, and Mollien had to wait some time until his sable majesty had risen. He was at length called to the hall of audience, where the king reclined upon a couch of rushes. The ceiling of this thatched palace was covered with soot and cobwebs; and four muskets were the principal ornaments of its walls. The king received graciously the traveller's offering of a grain of amber and two heads of tobacco; and after much conference with his favourite about a suitable return, he commenced rummaging the coffers that were near him for something that might please the white stranger, and at the same time evince his own munificence. At length he found and presented a pair of stirrups, which Mollien accepted. He did not, however, return a positive answer about a guide, as it is the usual custom among the negro kings, and even the village chiefs, to make those who solicit a favour wait a long time for their decision, hoping thus to obtain fresh presents. Excessively chagrined at this delay, the traveller withdrew to his hut, but was soon recalled to the court, where the courtiers were talking so loudly and with so much animation,

* The French in the Senegal make it a rule that no white shall take off his hat to a negro, whatever be his rank—a restriction one would hardly expect to have originated with Frenchmen.

that he began to be alarmed, until he perceived that they were only trying to divert their monarch, some by their jokes, others by relating such particulars as they had learned respecting Mollien's own habits and manner of life. It may be remembered that he now wore his European dress, having abandoned in Kayor the Moorish dress with which he started. The king seated him by his side and examined with great curiosity every part of this strange habit, the seams of which appeared to astonish him greatly. "Sometimes he raised one of my arms, sometimes one of my legs, and if I had suffered him would have entirely undressed me, in order to satisfy himself that my clothes were not sewed to my skin. He then asked if the king of the white men was as powerful as himself; inquiring particularly the number of his wives. 'He has but one,' I replied. 'And thou boastest to me of his riches,' replied he; 'what is the grandeur of a sovereign who is not able to keep several wives?' He did not suspect that the whites had horses; and his astonishment was extreme when I told him that they were so common that the coverings of our legs and feet were made of the skins of those animals."

Notwithstanding the favour the king did him of pulling his hair, and of taking him by the nose to measure its length, our traveller retired very much shocked at such liberties. During the interview, he had endeavoured to explain to the Bourb the advantages he would derive from collecting and sending to St. Louis, on his own account, the gum which the Moors procure from his kingdom. He seemed much to approve this advice:—"But in Africa, as in Europe, a project adopted with eagerness is often quickly forgotten."

Next morning our Frenchman was awakened by the king's own Goulah with his songs. He was accompanied by several female singers. "I dare not repeat the excessive panegyrics they bestowed upon me: they called me the son of the king of the whites: they praised the beauty of my shoes and of my hat; all the negroes were enraptured with the honours that were paid me; they seemed to be in a state of intoxication; all their motions were convulsive: they shook their heads, shut their eyes, and in the ecstasies caused by the guitar of the *griout* (or *goulah*), they exclaimed, 'Ah, how exquisite!' There are perhaps no people in the world so passionately fond of music as the negroes. To get rid of the minstrel and his female companions, I gave him a few leaves of tobacco; this present appeared so mean that they considerably lowered the praises of which they had before been so lavish."

The same day the traveller took leave of the king, and was allowed to quit the metropolis with such liberal orders from the king to facilitate his journey, as excited his surprise when he considered the smallness of the presents he had given to the Emperor of the Jaloofs. This seems to show that the negro princes are capable of being influenced by other considerations than those to which Mollien, in common with other travellers, generally attributes all their actions.

He proceeded to Medina, with an order upon one of the inhabitants to furnish him with a guide into the Foota-toro country; and on another to lodge and supply him with provisions. The refusal of his own host to eat with persons whom he considered so superior to himself as Mollien and his Marabout, gives occasion for the remarks that in Africa, as in most parts of Asia, custom forbids the master of the house to eat with his superior, even when he entertains him. If the host is rich or powerful, a stranger does not presume to invite him; if he is the stranger's equal, he puts his hand into the calabash, and invites his guest to do the same.

In the course of the day Mollien had the pleasure to hear his own praises chaunted by another goulah to the assembled people:—"Here is a white man who has seen the greatest kings on earth—the Damel and the Bourb-i-Jaloof! Let his name be celebrated wherever he goes!"

Afterwards the traveller took his own horse and ass to water at the wells, which were at a considerable distance. His arrival dispersed, affrighted, a number of Foulah shepherds, who were there watering their flocks, which enabled him to take possession of one of the wells and water his beasts. The Foulahs were recalled and reassured by the host of Mollien, who himself was induced by the cool shade and abundant water to remain there for the rest of the day. Large tamarind trees and enormous baobabs shaded the wells, and rendered them impervious to the rays of the sun, which therefore could not scorch the grass, which returned a most

beautiful verdure. "The Foulah shepherds, though not so fair as those of Gesner, were not less gallant; for while their flocks wandered in the woods they filled with water the calabashes of the young maidens, who came from the neighbouring villages, and who were unable to draw water from wells of such depth." The whole scene reminds one of circumstances which the book of Genesis frequently describes. And we know not whether the reason which our traveller gives for the distance at which the wells are usually found from the villages to which they belong, may not account for the similar fact in the Holy Land, which travellers have frequently noticed without being able to explain. It amounts to this—that in these climates the presence of trees is essential to the subsistence of the wells, on account of the humidity which they constantly keep up in the ground. But the trees immediately around the village are necessarily cleared away, to obtain ground for cultivation; beyond which, and among the trees, the wells are therefore of necessity formed.

After Mollien had been two days at this village, the people began to complain that his presence prevented the children from attending to their usual occupations; and their mothers often came to inquire when he would leave Medina. He took the hint and departed.

He next rested at Kaiai, where his arrival created a strong sensation. The men quitted their work to see him, and the women ran before his horse, shouting, "Here is a white man!" Some imagined that he had no skin, because they saw the blood through it; others supposed he could not walk, alleging as a proof that he was on horseback. Others took him by the hand; and some presented their children to him, and, perceiving that he treated them kindly, one or another would every moment exclaim, "It is not true then that you buy them to eat!"

We take pleasure in relating such little incidents, not certainly from the wish of exposing the folly or absurdity of the Africans, but for the sake of the very instructive illustrations which they offer of the errors into which people fall, when they undertake to pass judgment on matters which they do not understand, or which are for the first time brought under their notice.

Their host at Kaiai received them with unexampled munificence, for, although the party in which our hero travelled consisted of fifteen persons, he supplied them all with food until they were satisfied. "It is difficult," Mollien writes, "to conceive the delight of my companions on seeing the wooden bowl filled with fresh milk, which is very dear in this part of Africa. Such was their joy, that during the rest of the journey they never ceased talking of the munificence of the chief of Kaiai."

After leaving this place the traveller soon quitted the kingdom and entered Foota-toro.

The account we have already given of the Jaloofs generally supersedes occasion for any separate notice of those of Jalooffe. A few notes referring to them separately may, however, be collected from the traveller whose wanderings we have followed.

From the sea-coast the ground ascends almost imperceptibly on proceeding eastward, until one enters the deserts which separate Jalooffe from Foota-toro, from which it appears that we then enter upon the first great plateau of Western Africa, proceeding from west to east. There is no appearance of stone on the surface throughout the whole of this extensive slope, the soil of which is composed of extremely fine sand; but at the depth of thirty or forty fathoms is found a stratum of ferruginous stones resting on beds of others which are calcareous.

We are assured that the authority of the Bourb-i-Jaloof is despotic, and Mollien alleges that, like other African princes who possess such authority, he owes it to the number of his slaves. If so, this brings us to an important element of African government which will claim investigation.

The negroes when they fight with negroes are brave, but the very shadow of a Moor makes them fly. Their only tactics consist in falling unawares upon the enemy; each party retreats after having carried off a few prisoners; for in their estimation blood fetches too high a price to be wantonly wasted. Accordingly, when Mollien told of the thousands who are left dead upon our battle-fields, the Jaloofs could not conceive how the whites could massacre men, since it would be much more profitable, as well as more humane, to sell than to kill them. Wars

between *nations* were rare. The *kings* alone made incursions into each other's territories for the purpose of obtaining slaves. One might almost suspect that they had engaged among themselves reciprocally to plunder the countries not under their own dominion, and, by enriching themselves with these depredations, avoid the odium which would eventually overthrow them were they themselves to ravage the possessions of their own subjects. The kings, however, sometimes robbed their own subjects, or carried them off to procure arms and horses. Slavery is the punishment of theft, and insolvent debtors are also subject to the same fate. Slaves are very numerous among the Jaloofs generally, but they are so kindly treated that they seldom think of running away. It is not uncommon to see freemen and slaves eating together. As among the patriarchal fathers, the house-born or rather hut-born slaves are more valued than those "bought with money;" and are never sold unless guilty of some grave offence. They are well fed, and no labour is required of them but such as they can perform with ease. The women pound grain, fetch water, and keep the huts in order. The boys tend the flocks. The men cut wood, and only during three months of the year are employed in the cultivation of the ground, which is not laborious. The soil is so light that it is sufficient to turn it up with a spade, the end of which is very narrow. The women alone are really engaged all the year round in their domestic occupations.

When Mollien travelled (1818) this kingdom of Jalooffe contained more Pagans than Moslems; but, without positive information, we can with tolerable confidence conjecture that Mohammedanism is by this time predominant: for its progress has of late years been very great. The religion of the Pagan Jaloofs is pure Fetishism—of which we shall hereafter find a better occasion to speak. In this and other parts of Western Africa the Pagans and the Mohammedans equally send their children to be educated by the Moslem Marabouts, which is no doubt the real secret of the predominance which Islam has acquired in this country.

Among the Jaloofs, as among the Foulahs, on the death of the father of a family his property is divided into eight parts, seven for the children, whatever the number may be, and one for the wives whom he leaves behind him. If the deceased has no children the property is divided into four parts—three of which go to the collateral heirs, and one to the wives. On the death of a mother, what she leaves is divided into two parts, one for the children or collateral heirs, and one for the husband. When the king dies, public opinion is often divided between his eldest son and his brother; but the latter is almost always chosen, in order that the supreme authority may be transferred to a branch less powerful by reason of its wealth than that of the late king, and whose despotism there may be the less reason to dread.

Among the Jaloofs, and, more or less, among the other negroes, hospitality is regarded less as a virtue than a duty imposed on all mankind. They accordingly exercise it with a generosity that knows no bounds, and without the least notion of making a merit of it. When a stranger arrives at a village, he repairs to the chief, who lodges him in his hut, or, if it be too small, orders another inhabitant to receive him; and very rarely is it that he solicits any reward. When a stranger has supped in a hut, he may remain there a whole month without receiving any intimation that his presence is considered troublesome. Should the chief be absent the traveller repairs to the market-place, and is never suffered to remain there long before an inhabitant comes to invite him to his hut, which he generally relinquishes entirely to him. If he is so poor as to be unable to make a separate provision for his guest, he shares his meal with him.

Among the Jaloof nations chiefly are dispersed the *Loubees*, whom we had a former occasion to notice. They are the gipsies of Western Africa. Without fixed habitations, they move about from place to place, wherever they think it likely to find the means of subsistence. They make choice of a spot affording such wood as they require, and proceed to fell trees, with the branches of which they construct some huts, and work up the trunks into various articles of wood, which they exchange for corn and other necessaries. The chief articles of their manufacture are canoes, each of which they make of a single tree. They also make the pestles and mortars with which the women bray all their corn, as they have no mills. The mortar will hold about two gallons; the pestle is about five feet long and fifteen pounds in weight. They

make wooden bowls also, and a variety of other articles, some for use and others for show; and in these manufactures they display much more ingenuity and taste than could be expected, when we consider that the chief and almost only implements are a home-made axe and a knife.

For their privileges they pay a kind of tax to the sovereign in whose states they settle. They are reported to possess considerable wealth, although nothing but the most abject poverty is indicated by their appearance. They are in general an ugly and a very slovenly people.

The women, notwithstanding their almost frightful faces, are covered with amber and coral beads—presents from the Jaloofs, who regard them with a sort of superstitious feeling which makes them anxious at any price to propitiate their favour.

The Loubees have no property in land. All their possessions are their money, their tools, and their asses—the only animals upon which they travel. In wandering about they make fires with the dung of their beasts; and, ranged around these fires, both men and women pass their leisure time in smoking tobacco.

According to their own account, which we formerly adduced, the Loubees claim a kindred origin with the Foulahs; and this claim is supported by the fact of their having the same language. No state claims military services from the Loubees. Each family has a chief of its own, and all of them recognise another as the head of the whole nation. He collects the tribute which the territorial sovereigns demand, and he alone communicates with the delegates who are charged with receiving these imposts; by which system the people generally are protected from vexatious exactions.

All the Loubees are idolaters, and, like the gipsies everywhere, pretend to tell fortunes.

The general chapter, and the account of the two principal Jaloof kingdoms, will suffice to give the reader such a notion of this people as we should desire to convey; and some slight notice of others is alone necessary.

The kingdom of Waallo, called Brak (the title of the king) and Hoval by early travellers, is too like Kayor, and too remote from the sources of interest we are endeavouring to develop, to require a separate notice. It may suffice to intimate that it is the northernmost of the Jaloof kingdoms, lying to the north both of Kayor and Jaloofle, and occupying the left bank of the Senegal in its approach to the sea. In fact this state fills the large angle formed by the very extraordinary and abrupt bend which the river takes southward, as it advances to the sea, the nature of which will be better seen by reference to a map than by a written description.

It has already been mentioned that this kingdom of Waallo was separated, along with Kayor and some others, from the large empire over which the Bourb-i-Jaloof anciently ruled. It has ever since maintained its independence. The French, from their position in the Senegal, have had considerable intercourse with this kingdom. The Jaloofs who inhabit the native town in the French isle of St. Louis are chiefly from this kingdom. It is among the natives of it, also, that the Roman Catholic missionaries have had their principal influence. We confess that we have been unable to get any clear account of what has been done for the natives by these missionaries during the long period in which the French have had settlements in the Senegal. It is certain they have laboured with much zeal for the conversion of the natives within the scope of their influence; and although profoundly sensible of what every Protestant cannot but regard as the grave defects and dangerous errors of the Roman Catholic system, it is useless to dispute the evident fact that good has been done as against Paganism and Mohammedanism—which good we shall on all suitable occasions deem it our duty to notice. It is only when Protestant missionaries enter upon the fields of labour which the Catholics have pre-occupied, that the elements of evil and discordance—as between Catholics and Protestants, not as between Catholics and the Heathens or Moslems—begin to be felt; for the Protestant then finds that the mind on which he desires to act *has no room* left, is pre-occupied by the inferior good of Catholicism,—inferior with regard to Protestantism, but still a great good with regard to Paganism, which knows not Christ; and as against

Islam, which knows him but to hate him—not personally, indeed, but in the only character in which it is of importance to know him—as the Saviour of the world.

We should be ashamed to think that in such a work as this an apology is needed for proposing that it should include some notice of the labours of Romish missionaries. We do not apologize—we explain. And in this explanation, we should not omit to state our conviction, in which we have reason to know that some of the principal missionary societies in this country concur, that the history of the operations of the Catholic missionaries offers examples of devotedness, endurance, patience, faith, self-abandonment, even unto death, which may be adduced as worthy the imitation of the most ardent of our own missionaries. On such instances we shall dwell with pleasure; knowing they will stimulate the zeal of and minister encouragement to many who are actuated not perhaps by more ardent *love* to Christ and to the souls of men, although their operations are connected with the promulgation of less *mingled* truth.

No occasion offers to do this *now*, although it has seemed well to state the general course which we propose to take with reference to the operations of Catholic missionaries.

At present we have to confine ourselves to the observations of the Rev. John Lindsay, chaplain of H. M. S. Fougueux, in the expedition, under Admiral Keppel (1758), which dispossessed the French of Goree, St. Louis, and their other settlements in this quarter. Being at St. Louis in the Senegal, he writes,* "The Romish clergy here have, much to their honour, been at vast pains to make converts to Christianity, and have had good success in snatching many of them from the ignorance of Paganism, and many from the delusions of Mahomet, which converts have now such a veneration for the religion taught them, and for things sacred, that they held the English for some time in very great contempt; and seeing neither priests nor ceremonies among them, would hardly be persuaded that they were Christians, and would by no means permit them to bury their dead in their hallowed ground; carrying the matters so far as to think that, along with the French, we would also chase religion itself from the island. On this subject, I am told, a lady of distinction there, the princess Pennetica, was heard to say, that while she was ignorant, and a Pagan, she was happy; but now she began to find that being a Christian would make her miserable. Our countrymen at this time endeavoured to pacify them on this point by a falsehood, which however took, which was, that they were good Christians, but that they had the misfortune to lose their chaplain in the passage."

It would seem, in fact, that the chaplains of the regiments employed in this expedition had chosen to stay at home; on which our honest writer animadverts with just indignation. "But," he adds, "although the English, to their dishonour, have carried no pastor with them, God, in his good providence, has not left these infant Christians without a guide. There is in the island a gentleman (although a negro) of extraordinary good sense, of good education, and withal polite, and, not from authority so much as from the knowledge of his integrity and other honourable qualities, has obtained such an ascendency over the minds of the inhabitants, that his voice is with them a law in everything. On Sundays and other holidays his house becomes a chapel, where a decent and considerable community meet together, this gentleman, himself, officiating as their pastor; so that Mr. Charles, for so he is called, may be truly styled their king, their priest, and their lawgiver."

It will be observed that the English were brought there by having taken the island (of St. Louis) from the French. Our writer goes on to say—"On Sunday, after divine service was over, the above Mr. Charles, attended by all the Christians (who are the chief part of the inhabitants), came in a very genteel procession of two and two, the men first, and the women following, to pay their compliments to the governor upon his arrival in the island. Having assured him of their obedience, they begged that they might be protected from any insult, and hoped they should not be forced from their houses, which had ever been their own private property, and had not belonged to the French. At the same time they presented a memorial to the same purport, signed by most of their number, which Mr. Charles requested might be

* A Voyage to the Coast of Africa in 1758.

transmitted to his Britannic majesty. The governor received their address with a great deal of satisfaction; could not help remarking that they were a very fine people (Jaloofs by nation); and dismissed them with the assurance to Mr. Charles, that, instead of their houses being taken from them, lodging-money should be paid them, in case the want of room in the garrison should render it necessary to billet the officers on the inhabitants; and I assure you," continue Lindsay, "they were nothing short of what the governor said. The males, both here and at Goree, are generally tall, straight, and well made; have not that thickness of lip and flatness of nose that the slaves and negroes from the South are always found to have; and most of them go very decently apparelled, and in the French taste. But this is to be understood only of those islands in which the French were settled. The subjects of the neighbouring princes are clad in no other dress than a piece of linen wrapped about their middle, with the addition of a small blue covering thrown across their shoulders. They are greatly given to superstition." He then goes on to tell about the greegrees, &c., concerning which the reader has already been sufficiently informed. After which he proceeds:—"But all these fooleries, those who have embraced Christianity, and were much among the French, have entirely cast off.

"As to their women, and in particular the ladies, (for so I may call many of those in Senegal,) they are in a surprising degree handsome, have very fine features, are wonderfully tractable, remarkably polite both in conversation and manners, and in the point of keeping themselves neat and clean (of which we have generally strange ideas suggested to us by the filthy laziness of the slaves) *they far surpass the Europeans in every respect.* . . . . Negroes to me are no novelty; but the accounts I received of these, and in particular the appearance of the females on this occasion, were to me a novelty the most pleasing. They were not only pretty, but in the dress in which they appeared were exceedingly agreeable. Nor can I give you any drapery more nearly resembling them than the loose, light, easy robe and sandal in which we see the female Grecian statues attired. Most of them were of exceeding fine cotton, spun, wove into narrow slips of six or seven inches, and sewed together by themselves. Their hair (for it differs a little from wool) very neatly and curiously plaited; and their persons always adorned by earrings, bracelets, and necklaces of the purest gold."

Along the northern or right bank of the river Gambia, the *reigning* power is now the Mandingo. Yet there are two kingdoms in which the Jaloofs once reigned, and in which they still form the basis of the population. These were *Salum** and *Lower Yani*, of which the first was by far the greatest kingdom in this quarter. In the time of Jobson, the predominance of the Jaloofs on this bank of the river was so conspicuous that he seems to describe it as wholly occupied by them. And even in Moore's time, Barra, though ruled by a Mandingo king, was tributary to the Jaloof king of Salum. In more recent times, the Mandingoes have obtained the dominion; and under them more modified distribution has taken place of the kingdoms of Salum, Kolar, Badibou, and Barra, which we have no satisfactory means of understanding, but which suffices to produce some apparent discrepancies between the old and the recent accounts.

A few facts drawn from the accounts of these times when the Jaloofs had power here, where they still live with the Mandingoes, seem necessary to complete our account of the Jaloof people.

Moore says that the name of the royal family was *'Njay*. The authority of the monarch was of the most despotic character, and none might approach him—not even his brothers—without such humiliating ceremonies as we have already noticed in Kayor. Yet he acted with great freedom and equality among his soldiers, to satisfy whose thirst for spoil he was obliged to keep them pretty constantly employed; and as what they acquired was divided among them, the king taking but a small share to himself, they were always ready for any

* Or, as the maps have it, Bur-Salum, or Boor Salum, or Barsallai, although *Bur* is merely a prefix for kingdom.

nterprise, however bold or difficult. It was thus that Salum had become powerful at the expense of its neighbours. The king who did not take care to provide for his troops sufficient opportunities of plunder, was sure to be soon deposed.

Most other negro kings consult their head people, and decide nothing of importance. Not so the king of Salum, who would allow no one to advise him, save his own head man and chief slave, from whom he was certain never to have an adverse opinion. This personage, called the Ferbro, (or master of the horse,) led the troops in battle, and was the ordinary medium through which the king issued his orders and made known his will—from the very letter of which he might on no account deviate. On this functionary, also, devolved the office of bearing the royal sword (or sword of state) in a silver case of great weight. No officer seems recognizable in Western Africa whose functions make a nearer approximation to those of a European prime minister than those of the Ferbro of Salum.

On account of its extent, the kingdom of Salum was divided into several provinces, ruled with regal power, by governors called Beemoys, who rendered military service with their quotas in war, and were expected to appear at court every year to render their homage. This government appears, from Moore's account, to have been popular with the people.

The Mohammedan religion was professed with much zeal by the king, as well as all his attendants. He who reigned in Moore's time prayed often and fervently, when not drunk. Far from thinking, with Moslems generally, that it was worse than death to taste brandy or other strong liquors, he, and those about him, acted as if they deemed it a deadly sin to drink anything weaker. His usual course of life was to rise at night, and drink till towards daylight; then eat; then sleep again till sunset. At that time he rose, and, having again drunk copiously, went to sleep till midnight. His insatiate thirst for brandy kept both his subjects and neighbours in continual terror. When he stood in need of a supply of this indispensable article, he sent down to the managers of our African company at James' Fort, requesting them to despatch a cargo to be exchanged for slaves—a call which these worthy personages obeyed with the utmost alacrity. The king would then march suddenly to a neighbouring town, set fire to three sides of it, and station his guards at the fourth to seize the inhabitants as they attempted to escape. If he was not at war with any of his neighbours, he then, says Moore, "falls upon one of his own towns, and uses them after the very same manner." One of the choice recreations of this august personage was to go on board a vessel in the river, and shoot at the canoes as they passed, and frequently one or two persons in the day were killed at this pastime.

Among the curious laws of the Jaloofs of Salum was one which forbade any but the royal family, on pain of enslavement, from lying under *tendres*, which are cloths to keep off the mosquitoes. The like penalty was attached to the crime of sitting upon the same mat with those of the royal family, unless first asked or ordered to do so.

This Bur of Salum was, after all, a mighty troublesome neighbour to the English. A visit from him was a dreadful infliction. One such occurred very shortly after Moore had been appointed to the factory at Joar. The king came, with his three brothers and about 300 followers, ransacked the whole stores for brandy, and left not the place while a drop remained. In fact, they rummaged and took possession of whatever they pleased; but the resulting damage is not stated to have exceeded 20*l.*; and Moore admits that the factors were freely invited to assist in drinking their own brandy. During one of these drinking bouts a very characteristic incident occurred. One of the king's brothers spirted a mouthful of water into our author's face. "Upon which, considering that, if I suffered such insolence from black men, it would make them the more bold and insulting, and that it was better to venture dying once than to be continually abused, and the occasion of other Englishmen being contemned;—so I took the remainder of the water and threw it into his trousers. Upon that he had recourse to his knife, and endeavoured to stab me, but was prevented by his favourite attendant, who, seeing what had passed, held his arm and represented to him the unhandsome usage he had given me and the provocation I had received. Upon this he was so much ashamed, that

he came and lay down upon the floor, with his garment off, and took my foot and placed it upon his neck, and there lay till I desired him to rise. After that, no man was a greater friend to me, nor more willing to oblige me in any respect, than he was."

The king had another brother who attracted such special admiration from Francis Moore as induces him to portray him, man and horse, both with the pen and pencil. He was the elder brother of the king, and had for seven years been king himself; and how he came to lose the throne Moore could never understand. "Beemoy Haman Seaca is one of the family of the 'Njays, of a middle stature, genteel and strongly made, active and of a good countenance; his teeth white, his skin the very blackest, his nose high, and his lips thin, so that his features were like those of a European, as most of the Jaloofs are. He was clothed in a white cotton vest with open sleeves, and trousers of the same that reached to his knees. His legs and arms were bare; on his head he had a small white cotton cap, and gold earrings in his ears. He rode upon a beautiful milk-white horse, sixteen hands high, with a tail that swept the ground. His bridle was of a bright red leather, plated with silver, after the Moorish manner; his saddle was of the same, with a high pommel and rising behind. The breastplate was of red leather plated with silver, but they use no cruppers. His stirrups were short, and as large and long as his feet, so as to stand firm and easy. Upon these he would raise himself quite upright, stand steady at full speed, and shoot a gun or dart a lance as well as if he were upon the ground. He always carried in his hand a lance or half-pike, about twelve feet long, and which he held upright, resting the lower end upon his stirrup between his toes; but when he curvetted his horse, imitating action, he brandished his lance high over his head. So complete was his command over the noble animal, and so perfect his own activity and skill, that he would make the horse advance forty or fifty yards on the hinder feet alone, without touching the ground with the others, sometimes curvetting round a ring, and then straining him so low, with his belly to the ground, as even to carry him under the penthouses of the Mandingo huts, which are not above four feet high."

CHAPTER IX.

THE MANDINGOES.

[Mandingo Chief and Head-man.*]

The great Mandingo nation is too irregularly distributed in Western Africa to have the extent of its dominion defined otherwise than by an enumeration of the states and kingdoms which it comprehends.

The south bank of the great river Gambia, and the large country from thence southward to the river Geba, appears to be the principal seat and head-quarters of the nation. But in this direction (southward) their territory may in point of fact be considered to extend to the banks of the Kissee (Sierra Leone), and probably further; for the information obtained by the Rev. J. Wilson—the American missionary at Cape Palmas—led him to conclude that the interior between the coast country and the Kong Mountains was occupied by Mohammedan Mandingoes. But almost throughout this extent the Mandingoes are excluded from the immediate coast by a variety of small nations. Then, as lately intimated, the Mandingoes are also dominant on the north bank of the Gambia. They *occupy* Barra, Badibou, Kolar, Upper Yani, and Woolli; and they *reign over* the former Jaloof territories of Salum and Lower Yani. Besides, they possess, upon the Upper Senegal and its tributaries, the powerful kingdoms of Kaarta, Kasson, Bambouk, and Dentilia. In the western part of Central Nigritia (the Western Soudan of some maps) the Mandingoes are the most numerous nation in the late empire of Bambarra, of which, indeed, they were the dominant people before it was broken up. Kankan, Sambatilia, Time, and other countries in the same quarter, are also possessed by this great people.

To follow them into all these territories is, of course, out of the question. We will give the

* These figures are copied from Corry's 'Observations on the Windward Coast of Africa.' He explains that "the *turban* distinguishes the Mandingo chief; and that the *cap* which adorns the head-man is embroidered by themselves on scarlet cloth procured from the Europeans in trade, and is executed with great ingenuity."

Mandingoes two chapters. In the present we shall report the principal results, and in the next the principal incidents, of travel among the Mandingo nation.

In their complexions and persons the Mandingoes are easily distinguished from the negroes nearer the equator, as well as from their neighbours the Foulahs and the Jaloofs. Yet they appear to consist of distinct tribes, some of which are remarkably tall and very black. Their forms are generally good and active, and in general they seem, physically as well as geographically, to come between the Jaloofs and the Guinea negroes. Their complexion is a less glossy black (it is described as a yellowish black), their nose more depressed, their lips more thick, their hair more crisp and woolly than that of the Jaloofs; and in the circumstances in which they differ from the Jaloofs they approximate to the Guinea negroes, in whom all these characteristics are magnified.

The Mandingoes, generally speaking, are of a mild, sociable, and obliging disposition. The men are commonly above the middle size, well-shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour; the women are good-natured, sprightly, and agreeable. The dress of both sexes is composed of cotton cloth of their own manufacture; that of the men is a loose frock, not unlike a surplice, with drawers which reach half way down the leg, and they wear sandals on their feet, and white cotton caps on their heads: this style of dress is best shown in the cut at the head of this chapter. The dress of the women consists of two pieces of cloth, each of which is about six feet long and three broad: one of these they wrap round their waist, which hanging down to the ankles answers the purpose of a petticoat; the other is thrown negligently over the bosom and shoulders. This account of their clothing is indeed nearly applicable to the natives of all the different countries in this part of Africa—a peculiar national mode is observable only in the head-dresses of the women. Thus in some districts the head is encircled with strings of white beads, and a small plate of gold is worn in the middle of the forehead; in others the ladies decorate their heads in a very tasteful and elegant manner, with sea-shells; in others, again, the women raise their hair to a great height by the addition of a pad (as the ladies did formerly in Great Britain), which they decorate with a species of coral, brought from the Red Sea by pilgrims returning from Mecca, and sold at a great price.

The Mandingoes are described as a very gentle race, cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. They are also, however, very passionate, and their quarrels are often fatal; but if they murder an adversary, they flee to another kingdom, and are protected by the king as his own subjects.

The most grave defect in their character is the propensity to thieving which is ascribed to them by all travellers, and which, in fact, seems an incident in the character of all savages when they come in contact with foreigners and civilised men. On this subject we have already spoken; but, at the risk of some slight repetition, will allow one who knew the Mandingoes well to pronounce their vindication. "For this part of their conduct" (says Park) "no complete justification can be offered, because theft is a crime in their own estimation: and it must be observed that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumstance in mitigation; and before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger than the negroes acted towards me. It must not be forgotten that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and, finally, that some part of my effects were of as great value, in the estimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of an European. Let us suppose a black merchant of Hindostan to have found his way into the centre of England with a box of jewels at his back, and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security: in such a case the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second depredator. Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo negroes towards myself. Notwithstanding I was so great a sufferer by it, I do not consider that their natural sense of justice was perverted or extinguished; it was overpowered only for the moment by the strength of a

temptation which it required no common virtue to resist. On the other hand, as some counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be such, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity and tender solicitude with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign of Sego to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages when I was perishing with hunger) sympathised with me in my sufferings, relieved my distresses, and contributed to my safety.

"This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the various tempers of those to whom I made application. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as my predecessor Mr. Ledyard has eloquently said before me, 'To a woman I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel, with a double relish.' "

One who undertakes to write on Africa would be almost criminal in neglecting to preserve this beautiful eulogium; and, for the sake of our younger readers, we also introduce the poetical version of it which Mrs. Barbauld has supplied.

"Through many a land and clime a ranger,
With toilsome steps I've held my way,
A lonely unprotected stranger,
To all the stranger's ills a prey.

While stealing thus my course precarious,
My fortune still has been to find
Men's hearts and dispositions various,
But gentle woman ever kind.

Alive to every tender feeling,
To deeds of mercy ever prone,
The wounds of pain and sorrow healing
With soft compassion's sweetest tone.

No proud delay, no dark suspicion,
Stints the free bounty of their heart;
They turn not from the sad petition,
But cheerful aid at once impart.

Formed in benevolence of nature,
Obliging, modest, gay, and mild,
Woman's the same endearing creature
In courtly town and savage wild.

When parched with thirst, with hunger wasted,
Her friendly hand refreshment gave;
How sweet the simplest food has tasted,
What cordial in the crystal wave!

Her courteous looks, her words caressing,
Shed comfort on the fainting soul;
Woman's the stranger's general blessing
From sultry India to the Pole!"

Mungo Park very justly reasons that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature which was thus spontaneously manifested towards him in his distress, is displayed by these poor people, as occasion requires, much more strongly towards persons of their own nation and neighbourhood, and especially when the objects of their compassion are endeared to them by the ties of consanguinity; and accordingly the maternal affection is everywhere conspicuous among them. An illustration of this has already been given in the common phrase, "Strike me, but do not curse my mother!" The same sentiment was found universally to prevail; and in all parts of Africa the greatest affront which can be offered to a negro is to reflect on her who gave him birth.

It is not strange that this sense of filial duty and affection among the negroes should be less ardent towards the father than the mother. The system of polygamy, while it weakens the father's attachment, by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderness into one point—the protection of her own offspring. And we learn, with a satisfaction equal to that with which Mungo Park records the fact, the solicitude of the mother not only to the security and growth of her child's person, but, in a certain degree, to the moral discipline of his mind; for one of the first lessons which the Mandingo women impart to their children is *the practice of truth*. Park relates that while he tarried at Funingkedy a youth was brought in on horseback, who had been mortally wounded by the Moors. "His mother walked on before, quite frantic with grief, clapping her hands, and enumerating the good qualities of her son. *Ee maffo fonio!* 'He never told a lie!' said the disconsolate mother, as her wounded son was carried in at the gate. *Ee maffo fonio abada!* 'He never told a lie; no, never!'" "Such a testimony," the traveller justly remarks, when subsequently reverting to the incident, "from a fond mother, on such an occasion, must have operated powerfully on the youthful part of the surrounding spectators. It was at once a tribute of praise to the deceased, and a lesson to the living."

The children of the Mandingoes are not always named after their relations, but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Thus Park's landlord at Kamalia was named *Karsa*, a word signifying "to replace;" because he was born shortly after the death of one of his brothers. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, "a good man;" *Fadibba*, "father of the town," &c. Indeed, the very names of the towns have something descriptive in them; as *Sibidooloo*, "the town of cibou-trees;" *Kenneyctoo*, "victuals here;" *Dositee*, "lift your spoon." Others appear to be given by way of reproach, as *Bammakoo*, "wash a crocodile;" *Karankalla*, "no cup to drink from." A child is named when it is seven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish, called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or a goat is commonly added. This feast is called *Ding-koon-lee*, "the child's head-shaving." Among the negroes, every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country, though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the traveller; for as every negro plumes himself upon the importance or antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*.

The customs respecting the birth and nurture of children are the same as among the Jaloofs. As they advance in life the girls are taught to spin cotton and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties; and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, on attaining the age of puberty, are circumcised. This operation is not considered so much in the light of a religious ceremony as a matter of utility and convenience. As already described among the Jaloofs, the operation is performed upon several young people at the same time; all of whom are exempted from every sort of labour for two months afterwards. During this period the youths form a society, and visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants.

When a man takes a fancy to a young woman, it is not considered as absolutely necessary that he should make an overture to the girl herself. The first object is to agree with the parents concerning the recompense to be given them for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome, in which case the parent will raise the demand accordingly. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for if the parent agree to it, and eat a few kolla-nuts, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt it, the first lover is then authorised by the laws of the country to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is

fixed on, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding; a bullock or a goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding-dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, she is seated upon a mat in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This scene of instruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls who amuse the company with songs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes who are assembled without doors; and, by distributing among them small presents of kolla-nuts, and seeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes to the general hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate before day-break.

Like the other negroes, the Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age, but such old age as they do reach is hale and vigorous. At forty most of them become wrinkled and gray-haired, and few survive the age of fifty-five or sixty. The only instance of very old age which we have met with may be mentioned in this place, although it occurred not among the Mandingoes, but a neighbouring people, the Bulloms. In the Missionary Register for 1827, p. 9, we read—"King George, of Bullom, opposite to Sierra Leone, died in May (1826) at a very advanced age, said to be as much as 110 years. The Bulloms, it is stated, have never till now allowed their kings to die a natural death, having always despatched them when they considered them about to expire, sacrificing two human victims, whom they buried in the same grave. In the present instance, the fear of coming into trouble, or getting a palaver, as they term it, with Sierra Leone, led them to dispense with this shocking practice—a striking proof of the moral influence which the colony has acquired over the neighbouring tribes, even where their strongest and most inveterate prejudices are concerned."

The years of their lives the Mandingoes calculate by the number of the rainy seasons (there being but one such in the year), and distinguish each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurrence that happened in that year. "Thus," as Park reports, "they say—the year of *the Farbanna war*, the year of *the Kaarta war*, the year in which *Gadan was plundered*, &c. &c.; and I have no doubt that the year 1796 will in many places be distinguished by the name of *Tobaubo tambi sang* (the year the white man passed), as such an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional history."

When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral, which generally takes place on the evening of the same day on which the party died. The negroes have no appropriate burial-places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat: it is carried to the grave in the dusk of the evening by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body. No traveller has observed that any stone is ever put over the grave as a monument or memorial.

In the account here given of the natives, the reader must bear in mind that the observations apply chiefly to persons of *free condition;* what may be the present proportion between them and the slaves in the Mandingo states we have no means of knowing—but probably not more than in the time of Park, who reckoned that among the Mandingoes the free people were but ONE-FOURTH of the population. Three-fourths were in a condition of hopeless and hereditary slavery; and employed in cultivating the land, in the care of cattle, and in servile offices of all kinds, much in the same manner as the slaves of the West Indies. But the Mandingo master can neither deprive his slaves of life nor sell them to a stranger, except for such crimes as would have rendered them liable had they been free. If there are many family slaves, and

one of them commit a crime, the owner cannot sell them without the joint consent of the others, for if he does, it is likely they will all leave him, and be protected in the neighbouring kingdom to which they might flee. This is one advantage which they derive from the division of the country into numerous small states. Under the vast Roman empire, it was a complaint that the extent of its dominion rendered flight useless and refuge hopeless to the oppressed.

Such privileges are however only allowed to the domestic, or native, or home-born slaves. Captives taken in war, and those unfortunate victims who are condemned to slavery for crimes or insolvency, and, in short, all those unhappy people who are brought down from the interior countries for sale, have no security whatever, but may be treated and disposed of in all respects as the owner thinks proper.

The population, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, is not very great. Many extensive and beautiful districts are entirely destitute of inhabitants; and, in general, the borders of the different kingdoms are either very thinly peopled or entirely deserted. Many places are likewise unfavourable to population, from being unhealthful. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, are of this description. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts; for all the negro nations, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition.

The usual diet of the negroes is somewhat different in different districts; in general, the people of free condition breakfast about daybreak, upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon a sort of hasty pudding, with a little shea-butter, is the common meal; but the supper constitutes the principal repast, and is seldom ready before midnight. This consists almost universally of *kouskous*, with a small portion of animal food, or shea-butter, mixed with it. The beverage of the Pagan negroes is beer and mead; of each of which they frequently drink to excess; the Mohammedan converts drink nothing but water. The natives of all descriptions take snuff and smoke tobacco; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanship. But in the interior countries the greatest of all luxuries is salt. It would appear strange to an European to see a child suck a piece of rock-salt, as if it were sugar. This, however, is frequently seen; although in the inland parts the poorer classes of inhabitants are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say a man *eats salt with his victuals* is the same as saying he is a rich man.

The Mandingo towns do not materjally differ from those which have already been described as belonging to the Jaloofs. Small and inconvenient hovels, formed of a circular matted wall, plastered with clay or mud, and covered by a conical roof, form alike the palace of the king and the hovel of the slave. The furniture is equally simple, and is much the same as among the Jaloofs. The several huts belonging to one person are as usual contained within a wicker fence or enclosure. Little order is observed in these constructions except in placing the door towards the south-west, for the benefit of the sea-breeze. The villages are mostly circularly arranged, with an area in the middle containing the town-hall, or palaver-house. This public building differs in its construction from all the others, being supported on posts only, and, for the sake of coolness, having no walls. A number of strong posts are fixed in the ground, six or eight feet apart, and disposed in a circle or square. Upon the top of each of these posts, which are about six feet high, are placed circular pieces of wood, about two feet in diameter, with the view of preventing rats and mice from climbing up into the roof. A floor composed of bamboo-sticks, placed very close to each other, is laid over these circular plates of wood, and over all is the roof, which exactly resembles that of an ordinary house, except in not projecting so much beyond the sides. A bank of earth, about a foot high, called by Europeans "the mud bank," runs round the side of this building, for the convenience of sitting or reclining thereon. Some of these palaver-houses are large enough to contain two or three hundred persons, and here the inhabitants transact all public business among themselves, and between themselves and their neighbours. The men pass much of their time here in conversing with each other, and hearing

the news of the town, and to this place strangers go on their first entrance into a town, and sit down until a house is provided for their reception. The interminable dances are held here during the wet season, but in the open air when it is dry. This place, being the chief resort of the inhabitants, may be considered as a kind of exchange; and it illustrates the ancient practice of "sitting at the gate" of cities, where, as being the most public place, all business was transacted, justice was dispensed, and markets often held.

This palaver-house, being open at the sides, is generally protected from the rays of the sun by being erected under the shade of some large tree; and in those places where there is no palaver-house, the shade of a tree—"the tree of assembly"—forms the usual place of resort.

This tree is most generally the splendid *pullam*, or silk-cotton tree, which often attracts the eye of the traveller towering high above the huts of the village in the midst of which it stands;

[The Pullam, or Silk-Cotton Tree.]

and if the traveller fail to notice it, the chief will call his attention to it, and tell with exultation that it was planted there by himself, or his father, or his father's father. This tree is in fact the Sacred Tree of Western Africa, and is looked up to with a kind of reverence, as the guardian Fetish of the village over which it towers.

It is quite to be understood that the customs of the palaver-house, and the form of the house itself as just described, are by no means peculiar to the Mandingoes.

The negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered by the whites on the coast as an indolent and inactive people; but, as Park and many recent travellers think, without reason. The nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous production of nature, but by their own exertions. "Few people," Park says, "work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes; but, not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content

with cultivating as much ground only as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains. The pastures furnish an excellent breed of horses, but the usual beast of burthen in all the negro territories is the ass. The application of animal labour to the purpose of agriculture is wholly unknown, as indeed they have no ploughs. The chief implement used in husbandry is the hoe, which varies in form in different districts; and the labour is universally performed by slaves. Besides the grain proper to tropical climates, the Mandingoes cultivate in considerable quantities ground-nuts, yams, and pompions. They likewise raise cotton and indigo, and have sufficient skill to convert these materials into tolerably fine cloth of a rich blue colour; they also make good soap from a mixture of ground-nuts and a ley of wood-ashes."

This traveller (Park) supplies almost the only information we are able to find respecting the nature of property in the soil. He collected that the lands in native woods were considered as belonging to the crown or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual of free condition had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the soil became vested in the possessor, and appeared to descend to the heir at law. The rule here stated is in extensive operation throughout the world—that land becomes the property of him who first brings it into cultivation. We recognise this principle frequently in the primitive history contained in the book of Genesis.

The trades among the Mandingoes are those of the workers of leather and iron. The first of these, the leather-workers, are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide first in a mixture of wood and ashes and water, until it parts with the hair; and afterwards by using the powdered leaves of a tree called *goo*, as an astringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into sandals, and therefore require less care in dressing than the skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering quivers and greegrees, and in making sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments.

The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous, but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence. The negroes on the coast, being cheaply supplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacturing of this article themselves; but in the inland parts the natives smelt this useful metal in such quantities as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from a ley of burnt corn-stalks evaporated to dryness. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity. Gold is found in every part of Mandingo, in small grains, nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea.

As the arts of weaving, dyeing, sewing, &c., may easily be acquired, those who exercise them are not considered among the Mandingoes as following any particular profession; for almost every slave can weave and every boy can sew. The weaving is performed by the men. The loom is made exactly upon the same principle as that of Europe, but so small and narrow that the web is seldom more than four inches broad. The shuttle is of the common construction, but as the thread is coarse, the chamber is somewhat larger than the European. The women dye this cloth of a rich and lasting blue colour, by the following simple process:—The leaves of the indigo, when fresh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a strong ley of wood-ashes; chamber-ley is sometimes added. The cloth is steeped in this mixture and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper shade. The colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloss, and equal in Park's opinion to the best Indian or European blue. The cloth is cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments with needles

of the natives' own making. While the men are occupied in sporting pursuits the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton cloth. They prepare the cotton for spinning by laying it in small quantities at a time upon a smooth stone or piece of wood, and rolling the seeds out with a thick iron spindle, and they spin it with the distaff. The thread is not fine, but well twisted, and makes a very durable cloth. A woman with common diligence will spin from six to nine garments of this cloth in a year, which, according to its fineness, will sell for 15*s.* or 20*s.* each.

In the dry season the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers employ themselves chiefly in fishing. The fish are taken in wicker baskets or small cotton nets, and are preserved by being first dried in the sun, and afterwards rubbed with shea-butter to prevent them from contracting fresh moisture. Others of the natives employ themselves in hunting. Their weapons are bows and arrows; but the arrows in common use are not poisoned. Poisoned arrows are used chiefly in war. The poison, which is said to be very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *koona* (a species of *echites*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this shrub, when boiled with a small quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they fasten round the iron of the arrow in such a manner that it is almost impossible to extract the arrow, when it has sunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point and the poisoned thread in the wound. They are very dexterous marksmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance. They likewise kill Guinea fowls, partridges, and pigeons, but never on the wing.

The Mandingoes appear to be so called as having originally migrated from the interior state of Manding. But, contrary to the present constitution of their parent country, which is republican, the government of all the Mandingo states near the Gambia appears to be monarchical. The power of the sovereign is, however, by no means unlimited. In all affairs of importance the king calls an assembly of the principal men or elders, by whose counsels he is directed, and without whose advice he can neither declare war nor conclude peace.

The local administration is the same as that which has been described in our notice of the Jaloofs, being in the hands of a hereditary functionary called an *alkaid*. The court of elders, which he convenes on every occasion of importance to the place, and over which he presides, forms what is called a *palaver*. Their proceedings are conducted publicly, with considerable solemnity, and generally in the open air. Both sides of a question are freely canvassed, witnesses are examined, and the decisions which follow generally meet the approbation of the surrounding audience.

As the negroes have no written law, the general rule of decision is according to ancient custom: but since the religion of Mohammed has made such great progress among them, the converts to that faith have gradually introduced, along with the religious tenets, many of the civil institutions of Islam; and where the Koran is not found sufficiently explicit, recourse is had to a commentary called *Al Sharra*, containing a complete exposition or digest of the Mohammedan law, both civil and criminal, properly arranged and illustrated. This frequency of appeal to written laws, with which the Pagan nations are necessarily unacquainted, has given rise in their palavers to (what one would hardly expect to find in this quarter) professional advocates or expounders of the law, who are allowed to appear and plead for plaintiff or defendant, much in the same manner as counsel in the law-courts of Great Britain. And this is a marked illustration of the origin of the practice, which needs not exist while the law remains intelligible to the mass of the people. And here we see the use of advocates introduced into a state of society to which they do not naturally belong, through the adoption of a code of laws with which the people are unacquainted.

The advocates are Mohammedan negroes who have made, or affect to have made, the laws of the Prophet their peculiar study. Park says,—"If I may judge from their harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe that, in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are not always surpassed by the ablest pleaders in Europe. While I was at Pisana a cause was heard which furnished the Mohammedan lawyers with an admirable opportunity of displaying their professional dexterity. The

case was this :—An ass belonging to a Serawoolli negro (a native of an interior country near the river Senegal) had broke into a field of corn belonging to one of the Mandingo inhabitants, and destroyed great part of it. The Mandingo, having caught the animal in his field, immediately drew his knife and cut its throat. The Serawoolli thereupon called a *palaver* (or, in European terms, *brought an action*) to recover damages for the loss of his beast, on which he set a high value. The defendant confessed he had killed the ass, but pleaded a *set off*, insisting that the loss he had sustained by the ravage in his corn was equal to the sum demanded for the animal. To ascertain this fact was the point at issue, and the learned advocates contrived to puzzle the cause in such a manner, that after a hearing of three days the court broke up without coming to any determination upon it; and a second palaver was, I suppose, thought necessary."

The Mandingoes are the greatest merchants of Africa, and conduct the chief part of the trade carried on to the northward of Sierra Leone. Some of these people have made their appearance at Cape Coast Castle, and other parts on the Gold Coast, after having traversed a considerable part of Africa. "The streets of Monrovia (the chief town of the American colony of Liberia, at Cape Mesurado) are thronged with Mandingo merchants, who, confident of personal security, flock down to exchange their native produce for the merchandise of Europe and America." It is said by Matthews* that the news of the defeat of the Spaniards at Gibraltar was brought to the Rio Pongas by some of these people within forty days after the action. During the prevalence of the slave-trade on this coast, vast numbers of slaves were constantly brought down from the interior by the Mandingoes. Park's graphic description of his return journey to the Gambia with a slave coffle will be familiar to most of our readers, and need not here be produced, as a general account of the existing slave-trade will be given in connexion with that part of the coast in which it now prevails. One of the principal articles of trade among the Mandingoes is ivory, much of which is brought from a great distance inland. They also bring gold in small bars turned into rings, worth from ten to forty shillings each. The Mandingo merchants who penetrate into the interior, collecting these and other commodities, which they bring to the coast, are called Jencoes in their own language. They are very reserved in their accounts of the countries they visit. A considerable article of trade is also in bees'-wax. The Mandingoes make hives of straw, resembling ours in shape, and fit a bottom board into them, in which they form an aperture for the bees to pass through, and then sling them to the branches of trees. When they take the combs they smother the bees, and, pressing off the honey, of which they make a kind of wine, they boil up the wax with water, strain it, and press it through coarse cloths into holes made in the ground for the purpose. They make and sell large quantities of it on the Gambia, but the manufacture might be much increased. That which is clearest from dirt and dross is of course the best; the factors prove it by boring the cakes, which are from twenty to one hundred and twenty pounds weight.

The mode of barter among the Mandingoes—and indeed all along the windward coast, from the Senegal to Cape Palmas—is by *bars*—a denomination given to a certain quantity of goods of any kind, which quantity was of equal value among the natives to a bar of iron when Europeans first resorted to the river. Thus, a pound of fringe is a bar, two pounds of gunpowder are a bar, an ounce of silver is but a bar, and a hundred gun-flints are a bar. Every species of trading goods has thus a quantity in it called a bar. This bar, it will be perceived, is like the pound sterling, merely nominal, but much less precise in its value, and subject to great irregularities. Moreover, the quantity of an article contained in a bar differs, not only on various parts of the coast, but often in neighbouring rivers. A gun valued at twenty shillings is sold for six bars; but the same number of bars of tobacco will only be equal in value to four or five shillings. Twenty leaves of tobacco are a bar, and a gallon of rum or a fathom of chintz passes for no more. A piece of cloth which in one place passes for six bars, passes in others for eight, and in others for ten. Hence the trader in disposing of his goods forms to himself a standard, to which, upon the average, he reduces all his bars, the number of the cheap bars

* Letters from Sierra Leone.

which he sells serving to diminish the value of the dearer kind. It would doubtless, as Winterbottom remarks, tend greatly to facilitate commercial intercourse, and prove more advantageous to all parties, were this fluctuating medium of bars abolished, and in their stead an article introduced, of an established though arbitrary value, which might serve as the representative sign of the worth of every article of commerce.

The author we have just named introduces a statement which shows that there would be little difficulty in establishing a fixed medium of exchange, and that the natives are by no means bigoted to their own system:—"When the Sierra Leone Company established at Free Town a silver currency of dollars, half-dollars, shillings, and sixpences, or, as they were called, *twenty* and *ten cent* pieces, and a copper currency of cents, or the hundredth part of dollars, no difficulty occurred in their introduction and use. Before this event happened it was a matter of great difficulty to procure a small supply of vegetables, fruit, &c.: the seller had probably fixed his eye upon some article of dress or household furniture, as an equivalent for his merchandise, which greatly exceeded the value of the articles to be purchased, and which at the same time, perhaps, the owner could not conveniently part with. Afterwards it became customary to affix a certain value upon their goods when brought to market, as one, two, or three coppers, sixpence, a shilling, &c., without any instance occurring of confusion, dispute, or fraud, occasioned by misconception. Their willingness to adopt this plan is further evinced by what happened after the colony was plundered by the French (in 1794). A large sum in silver having been carried away, it was necessary to introduce in its stead a *paper* currency of dollars, half-dollars, and shillings, which were received by the natives in exchange for labour, provisions, &c., with the same confidence as they had before taken silver. Such, also, was their faith in this measure, that, although there were at that time no goods to purchase with these notes, they received them with the greatest cheerfulness, and waited until goods were received from England."

As the negroes are strangers to the use of figures, they carry on their numerical calculations by the aid of counters, which are either small pebbles, fine flints, or the kernel of the palm-nut. These are disposed in heaps of five or ten, and by referring to them, they recount every article which they have to receive from the factor; and, in their return home, they are enabled, by the same association, to account to their employer for their purchases. In affairs of less consequence they reckon by their fingers. For this purpose they bend the little finger of the right hand close to the palm, and the other fingers and thumb in succession: if the number be more than five, they bend the little finger of the left hand, and proceed as before. When it is necessary to proceed further, they shut both hands at once, and again begin as at first. "We see here a very striking similarity of manners in every age and climate, among nations in their early states, although widely different in feature and complexion; and it affords a good example of the first efforts of a limited numeration gradually advancing with civilization to a more perfect arithmetic."*

The Mandingoes, and the negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of rainy seasons. They portion the years into *moons*, and reckon the days by so many *suns*. The day they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening, and further subdivide it when necessary by pointing to the sun's place in the heavens. "I frequently inquired of some of them (says Park) what became of the sun during the night, and whether we should see the same or a different one in the morning; but I found that they considered the question as very childish. The subject appeared to them as placed beyond the reach of human investigation; they had never indulged a conjecture nor formed any hypothesis about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the first appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly created, the Pagan natives, as well as Mohammedans, say a short prayer; and this seems to be the only visible adoration which they offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper, the party holding up his hands before his face; its purport (as I have been assured by many different people) is

* Winterbottom, i. 176.

to return thanks to God for his kindness through the existence of the past moon, and to solicit a continuation of his favour through that of the new one. At the conclusion they spit upon their hands and rub them over their faces. This seems to be nearly the same ceremony which prevailed among the heathens in the days of Job (ch. xxxi. 26-28). Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary in its monthly course; and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey or any other work of consequence in the last quarter. An eclipse, whether of the sun or moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the whole study of astronomy appears to them as a useless pursuit, and attended to by such persons only as deal in magic."

Their notions of geography are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered, it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness; they describe the sea as a large river of salt water, on the further shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubo doo* (the land of the white people). At a distance from Tobaubo doo, they describe another country, which they allege to be inhabited by cannibals of a gigantic size, called *komi*. This country they call *Jong sang doo* (the land where slaves are sold), in the belief that the whites who come from Tobaubo doo carry to that country the slaves which they purchase on the African shores, and sell them for food to the gigantic cannibals. Their own country they, of course, believe to be the best in all the world, and their own people the happiest; and they pity the fate of those other nations whom Providence has placed in lands less fertile and fortunate.

All our readers have heard of *Mumbo Jumbo*. We first meet with this celebrated personage among the Mandingoes; but afterwards find him, in one form or another, in almost every nation of Pagan Africa. It is a figure hideously dressed up, which the people, especially the women, are taught to believe is the evil spirit, able and willing, unless propitiated, to inflict all kinds of pains and injuries upon those with whom he is offended. In some cases it is not concealed that it is a man who assumes the dress; but that man is supposed to act under the immediate direction and influence of the spirit. Our older travellers found much more mystery in this matter than was needful. The dress of the Mumbo Jumbo is kept as the property of every town, ready to be assumed on occasion by the spirit or his representative. Both Park and Gray first notice this bugbear in the Mandingo kingdom of Woolli; Park only saw the dress; and, as Major Gray witnessed the exhibition itself, his statement may be preferred:—"I here observed a sort of amusement, or rather inquisitorial exhibition, called by the natives Kongcorong. It was thus: A man covered from head to foot with small boughs of trees made his appearance in the afternoon near the town, and gave notice to the young women and girls that he would pay them a visit after sunset. At the appointed time he entered the village, preceded by drums, and repaired to the assembly-place, where all were collected to meet him with music and singing. He commenced by saying—that he came to caution the ladies to be very circumspect in their conduct towards the whites (meaning the men of the then present expedition), and related some circumstances, with which he said he was acquainted, very little to their credit; but, as it was his first time, he would neither mention names nor inflict the usual punishment of flogging. He would however take advantage of the first opportunity which they should be imprudent enough to afford him. All this was repeated by the girls in a sort of song, accompanied by the music and clapping of hands. Every one who had anything to fear from his inquisitorial authority made him a present; and I observed that not one of the girls withheld this proof of their fear of his tongue, or of their own consciousness of guilt."

Park's account adds—"It may easily be supposed that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for, as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim, being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amid the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable

that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion. Daylight puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel."

Although the Mumbo Jumbo is kept up by the men chiefly for the purpose of keeping their refractory wives in awe, its services are required on several other occasions; but we rather doubt that Missionaries are warranted by the facts, in the disposition which they indicate to regard Mumbo as an idol, or to ascribe much religious importance to him.

Among the Mandingoes, the people are divided into two great sects—the Mohammedans, who are called *Bushreens*, and the Pagans, who are called indiscriminately (by the others) *Kafirs* (infidels) and *Sonakees* (men who drink strong liquors). The proportion between these two classes varies in different countries. In the northern states Mohammedanism predominates, but this predominance diminishes as we advance southward, and in the southernmost kingdoms the majority appear to retain their ancient superstitions. The spread of Islam has however been so very rapid of late years, that the proportions are continually changing in its favour, and it is impossible to state with precision the relative numbers in any one kingdom. The Rev. J. L. Wilson, in noticing the probable extension of the Mohammedan Mandingoes into the country behind Cape Palmas, remarks—"If this information be correct, then it is to be inferred that there is in Western Africa, north of the equator, only a strip of country, extending from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast Castle, along the sea-coast, and about two hundred miles wide, that has not been brought under the religion of the false prophet." The court has generally been the last to alter; hence there are Pagan kings over nations which have become almost wholly Mohammedan.

The notions and ceremonies of the Moslem Mandingoes do not in any respect differ from those which have already been ascribed to the Foulahs and Jaloofs. This present section of our work refers chiefly to that portion of Africa in which Mohammedanism has acquired predominance; and the full exposition of the system of African Paganism belongs partly to a division of it which would treat of the coasts of Guinea and Benin, and partly to another which should relate the interesting histories of the Liberation Colonies of England and America, and connect therewith notices of the surrounding natives and their superstitions.

It may nevertheless be desirable to express the doctrinal principles and some of the practices of the Mandingo Pagans, which indeed differ not in any essential matter from those of such of the Jaloofs as still remain in Paganism. In relation to the Mandingoes, Park's information is more satisfactory than any other, and on this point he supplies nearly all the information we possess, besides such as may be found in the ensuing chapter.

He says—"I have conversed with all ranks and conditions upon the subject of their faith, and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the Pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of all things; but in general they consider him as a being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes, of unerring wisdom. If they are asked for what reason, then, do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon, the answer is, that custom has made it necessary—they do it because their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl suspended to the branch of a particular tree, a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour, of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation: when interrogated, in particular, concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing, *Mo o mo inta allo* ('no man knows any-

thing about it"). They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or of comfort, they seem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures, but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures."

This agrees exactly with one of the stages in the history of idolatry which we have had occasion to describe in another work:*—"The first act of the mistaken mind was, doubtless, after the knowledge of God and his attributes had become faint, to regard him, not as a God at hand, but a God afar off—removed too far from them, by the ineffable sublimity of his essence, to be reasonably expected to concern himself in the small affairs of this world and its people. Yet, feeling that the world needed that government which they deemed HIM too high to exercise, they imagined that far below him, but far above themselves, there might be agents by whom the government of the world was administered, and to whom even man might make the smallest of his wants and his humblest desires known without presumption. . . . . But under such a system, or under any system which takes from the Almighty the real government of the world, the honour due to him must needs sink before long into a simple recognition of his existence; and even this truth must in the end fade from the general mind, and exist only as a cold speculative dogma, known only to the higher theologians—a secret, whispered in mystery and fear to the chosen few, in groves, and caverns, and solitary places."

Correspondingly, the Pagan negroes, believing that the Creator is too high to heed their concerns, and too benevolent to inflict evil, render him no homage, but direct their worship to the inferior spirits who are supposed to rule the small affairs of this world, and whose wrath it becomes important to deprecate. This power has generally some sensible symbol, differing greatly in different places. A snake, a leopard, an alligator, a stone, a tree, may be the abode of the tutelary presence, to which the name of Fetishes, or *Dii Minores*, is given, and which are worshipped with forms and offerings very different and very various indeed.

* 'Pictorial History of Palestine,' 21-23.

CHAPTER X.

MANDINGO KINGDOMS.

[Termites' Pyramidal Nests.]

THE Mandingo kingdoms on the Upper Senegal and its branches are so well known, through the descriptions of Park and others, that we shall not think it desirable to seek incidents of travel in them. The manners and institutions of their inhabitants are represented, in common with those of the other Mandingoes, in the preceding chapter.

Having to make a selection, we have chosen the states which border on the Gambia, not only because they are less known to general readers through popular accounts, but because it is towards the kingdoms bordering on this river that the attention of our Missionaries has been for some time directed; and there is every reason to expect that they will be the first to receive and ultimately to transmit to the interior nations in this quarter, the impressions which Protestant Missionaries and civilizers are endeavouring to make. The Mandingo nations on the river are decidedly those to which the primary attention is now turned; as it is contemplated that through them and their language, rather than by dispersed operations, access is to be gained, not only to the other Mandingo nations, but to the Jaloofs and the Foulahs—first, to such of these nations as live intermixed with the Mandingoes; and, through them, to the distinct Foulah and Jaloof states. This plan of operations is fine, and deserves our hopes that it may prosper.

It seems to us that an account of the proceedings and researches of this enterprise will give a good notion of the people upon which it hopes to operate, while it will show the character of the facilities and difficulties of such operations. Where the information thus obtained is deficient, we will endeavour to extend it from other sources.

But the reader will wish to know something about the localities.

The Gambia is a very noble river: it rises in the mountains of Foota-Jallon, and, after making most extensive sweeps and windings, by which its course is much prolonged, it ultimately reaches the Atlantic in N. lat. 13° 28′ and long. 16° 20′. It is navigable by vessels of considerable burden as far as Fattetenda, a place about 300 miles (certainly *not more*) from the estuary; and after the rainy season small vessels can sail much farther.* At the entrance it is several miles wide. For some distance the banks are covered with beautiful man-

* The Rev. W. Moister says as far as 1000 miles from the mouth. But the estimates of distance upon this river which the Missionaries furnish seem in most cases about double the actual amount as compared with the (in such matters) certainly more authentic information of naval officers and government commissioners.

groves, which are always green, and tend to relieve the eye oppressed by the glare of the scorching sun. On penetrating more into the interior districts the scenery varies, the country becomes more hilly, and in many places bears the appearance of one extensive and majestic forest. Birds of the most beautiful and varied plumage are numerous, as are wild animals of various kinds, from the monkey to the royal lion and sagacious elephant.

The British possessions in this river have been briefly indicated at p. 97: in this place a more particular notice of them is required.

In 1816 the Island of St. Mary, lying at the mouth of this river, was ceded to our government by the king of Combo, in consideration of a small annual payment in goods. This is a low sandy isle, of very irregular shape, and about eight or ten miles in circumference, formed, apparently, by the alluvial deposits from the river, and by sand thrown up by the sea—the latter greatly preponderating. It lies close to the southern bank (Combo), from which it is separated by a narrow channel navigable only by boats. This channel is called "Sarah Creek," or, more generally, "The Oyster Creek," on account of the abundance and good quality of the oysters which adhere spontaneously on the mangroves as they hang in the water.

We shall be allowed to stop one moment to render this matter of the mangroves and the oysters more intelligible.

[The Mangrove Tree.]

How peculiar and picturesque the mangrove grows, the reader will see by this figure. It is an evergreen, and rises to the height of 40 or 50 feet: its favourite situations are in the water, and on the banks of rivers where the tide flows. From the lowest branches issue long roots, which hang down into the water and penetrate the earth. Thus the whole has the appearance of a number of arcades, from 5 to 10 feet high, which serve to support the body of the tree. These branches are so closely interwoven with each other that they form a kind of natural terrace. From its situation in the water the mangrove is a favourite resort of oysters, which cling to the immersed branches, and have the appearance of growing from them. "What is very extraordinary," says Adanson, "everywhere else oysters are loosened from rocks, here they are gathered from trees! At low water they are left bare, and seen hanging at their roots.

This is what made some voyagers, who had seen the like in America, affirm that they perched upon trees [or rather that they *grew* to them]. The negroes have little difficulty in gathering them—they need only to cut off the branch to which they cling. A single root bears sometimes upwards of two hundred; and if it has several branches, it forms a cluster, which one man would find difficult to carry. The shells of these oysters differ from those of Europe, being larger, narrower, and thinner; but as to the delicacy and relish of the meat, connoisseurs know no difference."

To return to St. Mary's. The surface of the island being a low plain, scarcely sufficiently high to permit of draining, the consequence is that during the rainy season a considerable part of it is completely inundated; and as the heat is very intense, the exhalations from decayed vegetable and animal matter, and from putrid and stagnant water, with all the concomitant and prejudicial effects, are highly injurious to the health and safety of the inhabitants. It would seem, therefore, that this situation was chosen with a sole reference to the convenience of shipping, and with that utter disregard to wholesomeness which seems to have characterised the selection of settlements on this coast; and with such effect upon the health and lives of the settlers, that the coast has acquired a character for *general* unwholesomeness, which, without a doubt, it does not *generally* deserve. It is fortunate that the great progress which has of late years been made in the apprehension of the circumstances which affect the health of man, and of the conditions on which his life depends, will prevent any future settlements from being formed in such situations. The mangrove forests are among the circumstances which are in the highest degree injurious; for their net-work of submerged branches—or say roots—serves very effectually to arrest the decaying vegetable matters which the waters might carry off, and which are therefore detained to pour forth into the air a pestilential effluvium injurious in the highest degree to the life of man.

The pretty little town of Bathurst is built along the beach of the south-east extremity of the island, where the ridge of sand is somewhat elevated above the level of the sea; but in the rear of the town, and towards the centre of the island, the ground sinks considerably below the high-water mark, and causes a continual accumulation of stagnant water.

Nearly half the island is thickly covered with mangroves, shrubs, and evergreens, the palmetto-tree, the baobab-tree, and a variety of others, which give the isle a refreshing and romantic appearance; but, of course, render it all the less salubrious. The soil produces rice, maize, Guinea corn, millet, and a species of beans and peas peculiar to the country. All is brought to perfection with very little manual labour. "The ground is broken up with a hoe, or something of the kind, the grain dropped down and covered over with the feet as they move along; and, after a few showers of rain, the gardens, yards, and huts are beautified and adorned with the fruits of the earth; and such is the good providence of God towards those whose lot it is to breathe under the perpendicular rays of a tropical sun, that for so small a portion of labour they frequently reap from one to two hundred fold."

We further learn from the Rev. W. Fox * that the vegetables grown and used by the natives are the yam, cassada, pumpkin, calabash, pangay, sweet potato, &c.; and at St. Mary also some fine fruits and a few European vegetables: of the former are to be seen, almost every day, the guava, banana, papaw, melon, sam-sop, cocoa-nut, pine-apple, and orange. Some of these have already been particularly noticed, others are not indigenous products of the country, but appear to have been introduced by the Portuguese, and will claim our notice when we reach the countries to which they more properly belong.

The number of Europeans in this settlement is from thirty to forty, most of whom are merchants or government officers. The entire population, exclusive of the troops, is about 3000. Notwithstanding the unwholesomeness of the situation, and although the merchants and traders have frequently met with serious losses and interruptions from the neighbouring and petty chiefs of the river, some of whom are far more fond of war and plunder than of peaceful and

* A Paper by him, forming No. lxxi. of the 'Papers relative to the Wesleyan Missions;' a previous one (lv.) in the same series, by the Rev. W. Moister; and the two parts of the 'Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Sierra Leone, &c.,' principally furnish the materials of the notice we are now taking of this settlement.

profitable trade, the settlement has been gradually rising in its commercial interests from its commencement till now. Most articles of European manufacture are sold here; but the staple or principal articles of import, for the consumption of the natives, are tobacco, rum, sugar, beads, fire-arms, and powder. In exchange for such commodities the merchants receive gold, ivory, hides, and bees'-wax, which they ship in large quantities every year; besides many ship-loads of excellent mahogany. Rice is now also becoming an article of export, and a small quantity of gum has lately been shipped, which was brought down the river. Cotton, and the oil of the ground-nut, are now going through experiments, and there is little doubt but they will succeed, and, by their success, materially increase the trade of the Gambia.

All this is of importance, as substituting a profitable market to the natives for their produce, in the place of that for slaves. Indeed, as long back as 1834 Mr. Moister writes—"The settlement has been successful to a considerable extent in suppressing the slave-trade; but it is still carried on by the natives in the more interior districts. I have myself seen a man bound hand and foot with irons, and exposed for sale at the same time and in the same place with a horse."

In 1826 a tract of land upon the *north* bank of the river, near its mouth, and opposite Combo, was ceded to our government by the chief or "king of Barra." This tract is one mile in breadth and about thirty-six miles in length, extending from Boonyadoo Creek, at the entrance of the river, up to Junkarda Creek. But the king of Barra reserved a small portion of it (about 400 yards by 300) at Albreda, where the French have a factory. The land thus ceded possesses many advantages. It is nearly level, but sufficiently elevated above the river, and the soil appears to be excellent. It is two miles and a half from St. Mary's, and the commissioners of inquiry express regret that Barra Point had not been in the first instance selected for the settlement, instead of St. Mary's.

The small island of Fort James is nearly in the centre of the river, about sixteen miles above Bathurst in St. Mary's. It is little more than a quarter of a mile in circumference, and the greater part of it is covered by the fort, which is little more than a ruin, although formerly a place of some importance as the head-quarters of the Royal African Company and their successors.

The most recent acquisition, that of Macarthy's Island, high up the river, has already been described.

It was not many years after the formation of the settlement at St. Mary's that the Wesleyan Missionary Society commenced operations in that quarter. In 1821 the Society sent out Messrs. Morgan and Baker to establish a mission among the natives. It was at first thought that they would find encouragement to open their mission at Tentebar; but on their arrival the favourable opening appeared rather to present itself at a place in the dominions of the king of Combo, near the town of Mandanaree, about eight miles from Bathurst, on the bank of the Gambia. The first published letter from Mr. Baker describes the situation as in every respect superior to St. Mary. "It is on the top of a hill, sixty feet above the level of the water. The soil all around us is, I doubt not, capable of bringing to perfection any tropical production. Indeed, the natives plant their corn and rice in the same ground for fifty years successively, without carrying to it any kind of manure. I think, if God should spare us, we should be able to introduce such improvements among this people, in agriculture, as will, notwithstanding their prejudice in favour of the customs of their fathers, be received with gratitude."

In the sequel, Mr. Baker draws a very unfavourable character of the people. But we conceive that his statement must be received in its local reference; it is obviously not intended to apply generally; and indeed Mr. Baker was not by any means in a condition to draw a general character of the Mandingo nation. "The character of the people is bad enough: as masters, they are proud, insolent, and cruel; as servants, they are fawning, hypocritical, and extremely dishonest. It seems as if Mohammedanism had made them almost, if not altogether, the worst of men; and the generality of them think themselves authorised to cheat and steal from white people at every opportunity. In this kingdom, however, liberty of conscience is allowed. The king himself is a Pagan, and so are a greater part, if not all, the people of this town; yet their

Paganism is mixed up with the worst Mohammedan superstitions. The king is quite despotic. When we first went to him he received us very graciously, and frankly declared that he was only a little king before the white men came to St. Mary's; that neither his grandfather, father, nor himself had a leaf of tobacco; but that now he was rising in power and outstripped his neighbours, who were once his superiors. He told us to look around, and in any place we liked to *sit down* (*i. e.* settle)."

They accordingly made choice of the spot which has been indicated, and their choice was approved by the king, who, in another interview, formally gave them permission to cut down what trees they pleased, whether for building or clearing the land, and expressed his content at their proposed annual tribute of twenty dollars. After describing the party as busily engaged in cutting down the bush and building "a temporary house of rind-trees split for posts, and bamboos, wove for the sides and plastered," intended for a school-house, Mr. Baker concludes: "We have useful arts to teach the people, and if we have the means of doing this put into our hands, we may accomplish it. We have fine land for agriculture, and the people at present have a very uncouth way of cultivation. A kind friend has made us a present of an iron plough; but we have no harness for horses or oxen, nor harrow to cover the seed. If our dear friends would send us harness for two horses, and for two pair of bullocks, together with a harrow, a few hoes, shovels, and other implements of husbandry, it would be a great present, and greatly forward the views of our mission."

The journal of the other missionary, Mr. Morgan, adds some curious particulars respecting the interview in which the king confirmed to them the spot they had chosen. Under date of May 3, 1821, we read:—"We left St. Mary's, proceeded to Mandanaree, and took lodgings in a native's hut. On the 5th the king came, and convened the principal men of the town under a large tree. Mr. Baker being confined, sick of the fever, I was obliged to attend the palaver without him, and a clamorous palaver it was. About forty men were assembled around the tree; several of them strongly opposed our settling among them; but the king declared it was his prerogative to do as he pleased; and after a clamour of about half an hour's duration, the palaver was ended. Then all the Marabouts began to pray for the king as they sat round him: the king in the mean time continued beating his head with his hands, or crossing his arms on his breast, and expressing a word which sounded something like Amen!"

The station thus auspiciously commenced was, however, soon abandoned on account of the ill health of the missionaries, the badness of the water, the opposition of the Moslem part of the population, and other circumstances of a discouraging nature. It was then decided that the mission should be established at St. Mary's.

About the same time, the attention of the Society of Friends (Quakers) was drawn in the same direction; and although the Jaloofs were the primary objects of attention, yet as the parties came more into contact with the Mandingoes, this is the suitable place to notice their proceedings. The statement is very interesting, if only as showing how far the peculiar principles of the Quakers will allow them to go in matters of this description.

In its origin the plan was connected with the interest which has always been taken by that body in promoting the deliverance and advancing the welfare of the negro slaves. The best account of this operation may be deduced from the statement put forth by the committee, in 1822, after the return of their agent from this coast.

"It will be in the recollection of many Friends that, about the close of the year 1819, this subject was brought forward in London by our friend Hannah Kilham, of Sheffield, whose mind had been for some years under an impression of duty to employ her talents in this way for the benefit of these untutored members of the human family; and that a subscription was soon afterwards set on foot to defray the necessary expenses of educating or teaching some young Africans, under her superintendence. Her views extend not merely to the personal instruction of individuals, but to the forming of an institution for cultivating some of the unwritten languages of Africa; for reducing them to grammatical principles; composing elementary books, translating portions of the Scriptures, and diffusing them, by the instru-

mentality of the natives and through the medium of school-teaching, among their countrymen.

"For these purposes, and with the concurrence of several friends, who agreed to act as a committee, Hannah Kilham took under her care, in the third month, 1820, two African youths as pupils: the one, named Sandanee, is from Goree; the other, Mahmadee, from the banks of the Gambia. Both of them speak the Jaloof (or Waloof) language, in which our friend herself has since become, by continued application, a considerable proficient, and is now employing the knowledge which she has acquired in the formation of elementary lessons for the purposes of teaching and translation. These pupils have conducted themselves with propriety, applying diligently to their learning, and evincing qualities of mind, in respect both of talent and disposition, which may be deemed altogether encouraging at the commencement of a labour so arduous and uncertain as is that of imparting instruction to those whose early years have been passed in total ignorance.

"The next step in the prosecution of these endeavours presented greater difficulty. The work of forming teachers, on this side the water, was necessarily connected with prospective measures as to the best mode of employing them (when they should be deemed fit for employment) among their countrymen; and a direct intercourse with the natives, especially with some of their chiefs, began to appear desirable both for this object and for the purpose of completing the necessary elementary books in the Jaloof language.

"Thus circumstanced, the committee received an unexpected offer from William Singleton, of Loxley, near Sheffield, (under whose care the two Africans had been for some time receiving their English instruction,) to proceed to Africa, on such service as the committee might think fit to assign to him, in furtherance of the general object, which, it appears, had by this time deeply interested his mind. The committee having made such inquiries as the case suggested, and deliberately considered his proposals, after a personal conference accepted his aid for the present occasion. He was instructed to visit and open a friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the Jaloof nation; to engage, with their own consent and that of their friends or parents, two more pupils of that nation; and to employ his leisure time in collecting information on the state of the country, the natives, and their language: he was left at liberty to return by way of Sierra Leone, in order to have a view of the improvements going on among the natives attached to that settlement.

"William Singleton sailed towards the end of 1820, and returned in good health, after a visit to the Gambia and Sierra Leone, in the seventh month, 1821; his stay in Africa having been originally limited by the committee, on prudential considerations, to the commencement of the rainy season in those latitudes. His voyage and abode on the continent, though not productive of the whole result that was desired, has materially contributed, by a variety of information derived through his means, to clear the way for future proceedings, should the object in view receive the support of Friends to the requisite extent. Since the return of William Singleton, the committee have had opportunities of conferring with respectable merchants and others acquainted with the Gambia, some of whom had rendered important services to William Singleton there, on the subject of the plan in contemplation. It is believed on their evidence, in concurrence with that of William Singleton, that the instruction of the natives in reading, writing, and useful arts, will be a measure acceptable to the European settlers, and will receive their countenance and support; that the Africans treat with respect those persons who, at present, travel among them, from the European settlements, on account of commerce; and that the slave-trade, which was the impediment the most apprehended, is not now so prevalent, either on the Gambia or in the parts near it in intercourse with the English, as to offer a reasonable ground for delay on that account. How readily the natives themselves are likely to fall in with sincere and disinterested tenders of service in this way, the journal of William Singleton will, in different parts, demonstrate. Indeed the superiority of Europeans over them in useful knowledge is sufficiently evident to themselves, and often confessed; and although the moral and religious improvement of these people be our immediate object, it is manifest that instruction, such as we propose to convey, must directly tend to elevate their conceptions to a

just sense of their capacities and privileges as members of the great human family, and consequently to promote their civil advancement, and the final extirpation of slavery from among them.

"A person of colour, a native of Senegal, well skilled in the Jaloof and Foulah tongues, and otherwise qualified by a knowledge of Arabic, French, and English, to form a judgment of this undertaking, has given to the committee an opinion decidedly in its favour, as regards both the practicability of reducing the African languages to writing, and the general solidity of the principles adopted by our friend Hannah Kilham in her labours. From this intelligent stranger much valuable information has been likewise received on the subject of the Jaloof language.

"Thus it is proposed to open, with that people whose cause we have long been engaged to plead with their oppressors, a direct and continued intercourse, with a view to impart to them some measure of the blessings and benefits conferred upon us (for this end, doubtless, among others) by a wise and gracious Providence."

Several of the observations made by Mr. Singleton may be found dispersed in this work. At present we confine ourselves to the following extracts:—

The first gives a rather graphic account of an interview with the King of Combo, whom our Friend visited in company with Mr. Morgan (the Wesleyan missionary) and other persons.

"March 15th. This morning, about seven o'clock, W. Forster, Charles Grant, Nathaniel Johnson, John Morgan, and myself, were rowed by four men, in the Hambletonian's boat, to Combo country, in order to visit the king, who resided at Yindum. We had been informed that the king's house stood close to the creek; but found that we had four miles to walk from the boat to his residence.

"W. Forster and I, being separated from the rest, arrived first, and taking the king by surprise, found him sitting on a mat in the antechamber or circular outer-room of his hut, nursing an infant. He had on the common *pang* (or *pagne*) of the country, and a red worsted night-cap, both which, as we afterwards observed, indicated a scarcity of soap. After the usual salutations, and sitting a few minutes, we retired to another house, where we waited a full hour before we could be admitted to a formal palaver. When this time had elapsed we were informed that the king, his brother, and his train, would meet under the palaver-tree. Thither we went, and on crossing the town to come to it, we observed at the entrance to the court where we had been resting two small cannon lying on the ground; and, in the open space near the palaver-tree, an iron boiler, apparently placed there for show. In the town, which is surrounded with a fence of strong stakes more than six feet high, the heat was reflected from the ground as from a furnace, owing to the fence and the crowded state of the houses, which prevented us feeling the breeze that had now and then refreshed us on the road.

"A few minutes after us came the king in his court dress: a soldier's laced blue coat, and three-cornered hat ornamented with a red feather. Under these could very easily be discerned the sullied pang and the worsted cap. The king was preceded by an umbrella-bearer, who shaded not the king, but himself. In real gravity of countenance, the king proceeded to the tree, and seated himself on a Windsor chair, while we had stools and his attendants had hides to sit upon. All being fixed, W. Forster addressed the king, apologising for not having waited upon him before, &c., and concluded with naming the presents he had brought; at hearing of which, for the first time, the king's countenance relaxed into a smile. I then explained to them the wish of the Friends for their welfare, &c.; then I told them we had two natives in England, who were learning to read and write—that they would return as soon as they had sufficiently learned, and that I had directions to take home two others. The Sereen [Moslem teacher] asked, rather quickly, 'Where you get two others?' I answered, 'I shall not take them without leave of their parents, and they will be sent back when they have learned.' This appeared to relieve him, and he returned, 'That is good.'

"By a mistake of the interpreter, in delivering one of the questions, was elicited the following declaration:—'Our king good man; no fall upon poor people; no do bad thing; teach his people spin cotton, sow corn, keep bullock, and everything good for them. No hurt any-

body; wishes every one to have enough, but no want them to be rich; where plenty riches, there the people much sick: plenty money no good.'

"We offered our presents to the king, but he would neither take nor look at them. His umbrella-bearer, however, came forward and took them, and we took leave. My present was amber, romals, knives, and scissors.

"The Sereen appears to have great influence at Yindum; and doubtless these persons have wherever they reside. It has been my fear that their influence will be exerted against attempts at improvement in the condition of the natives.

"I noticed in Yindum that there was a greater number of children than in any place I had visited. The soil in the plain is very good, and of various kinds; a greater portion is cultivated than up the Gambia."

From Mr. Singleton's journal of a voyage up the Gambia the following notices of the country and people have been collected. This trip was in May, 1821.

The opinion which his captain gave of the Jaloofs has been produced in a preceding page. Of the Mandingoes his opinion was scarcely more favourable. "They are lazy, and depend much for support on theft and [at that time] the slave-trade. The total abolition of this would oblige them to work, or find some other means of support. The little trade they keep up on the Gambia is partly by stealing and partly by purchasing wax, hides, &c. from the Jaloofs [Foulahs?], who live more inland and are more industrious than the Mandingoes." We are told, however, that notwithstanding their propensity to thieving—which on more than one occasion we have endeavoured to set in a proper light—the Mandingoes leave their corn in enclosures (in the villages) of platted grass, not six feet high, and without any cover. Matta, the chief Sereen, who resides on the Senegal coast, told a Gambia merchant that he thought it an honour to steal from a white man. In this there is sufficient intimation that, as we have all along suspected, they do not steal from one another.

On the 25th Mr. Singleton went ashore to measure a tumulus raised by the termite ants. "It was nine feet eight inches high and twenty-three feet around the base. The soil is here about fifteen feet deep; under it is the red clay with which the bug-a-bug raises his mound, and gives the appearance of petrifaction to stakes and trees. On a tree lately felled I measured one of the works of these little labourers, and found it seventeen yards in length. *The natives are beginning to use clay for building.*" From the position of this last sentence there appears an intention to intimate that the negroes are taking from these ants the hint of building their habitations with clay.

Having already taken notice of the *columns* erected by one species of termites, we may here add something to Mr. Singleton's brief notice of the *hills* constructed by another species.

The *termes bellicosus*, or warlike termite, is the species by which these extraordinary fabrics are reared. This is the largest and therefore the most remarked and best known of those which infest the western coast of Africa. These insects—one of which (in the working class) is not quite a quarter of an inch in length—are remarkable not only for their immense constructions, but for the important services which they render to man in the destruction of the immense load of putrid vegetable substances which encumber the earth in tropical climates. In a few weeks these termites will destroy and carry away the bodies of large trees, without leaving a particle behind; thus clearing the place for living vegetables, which soon fill up every vacancy; and in places where, two or three years before, there has been a populous town, if the inhabitants have chosen to abandon it (as often happens), there will be a very thick wood, and not the vestige of a post or beam to be seen, unless the wood has happened to be of that species called *iron-wood*, from its hardness. But this quality, useful in itself, and intended for useful application, is sometimes applied very injuriously to man. For in this manner, the wood employed in the construction of dwellings is often attacked, and the whole inside of the posts of a house are hollowed out before any outward marks of danger appear. The building then suddenly falls, or, the danger being discovered, must be taken down and built anew.

The nests or "hills" of these termites are very numerous in the country on and between the Senegal and Gambia. In some places their magnitude, number, and closeness of situation

make them appear like native villages. These constructions are usually termed "hills" from their appearance, which is that of hillocks, more or less conical, usually much in the form of sugar-loaves, and commonly about ten or twelve, but sometimes fifteen or sixteen feet in perpendicular height above the ground. These hills continue for some time hard, and of a red colour, very similar to that of well-baked earth. But in the second or third year the hillock, if not overshadowed by trees, becomes, like the rest of the earth, almost covered with grass and other plants.

The exterior of these buildings is, in fact, one large shell, in the manner of a dome, large and strong enough to enclose and shelter the interior from the inclemency of the weather, and the numerous inhabitants from the attacks of natural or casual enemies. This outward shell is therefore always much stronger than the interior, or habitable part; and which is divided, with wonderful regularity and contrivance, into a prodigious number of apartments for the residence of "the king and queen," for the nursing of their numerous progeny, and for magazines, which are always well filled with stores and provisions.

These hills first make their appearance above ground in a little turret or two, of the shape of sugar-loaves, which are raised to the height of a foot or more. Soon after, at some little distance, while the first are increasing in height and size, the termites raise other such turrets, and so go on increasing the number and widening them at the base, until their works below are covered with these turrets. Of these the largest and highest is always in the middle, and, by filling up the intervals between each turret, the whole are collected as it were into one dome.

The termites manifest less care about the proportions of the "turrets" whose union forms the "hill," than about their solidity and strength; and when by their junction the dome is completed—for which purpose the turrets served as scaffolds—those in the middle are taken entirely away, excepting only their tops, whose union forms the crown of the cupola; and the clay of which they were formed is employed either in the interior architecture, or else for the construction of fresh turrets for the purpose of raising the hillocks still higher. Thus some part of the clay is doubtless used several times over, like the boards and posts of a mason's scaffold.

We are assured that when the hills are little more than half their height, it is always the practice of the wild bulls to stand as sentinels upon them, while the rest of the herd are ruminating below. They are sufficiently strong for that purpose, and at their full height answer excellently as places for a look-out; and Winterbottom says he has been with four men on the top of one of these hillocks.

In the work of the author we have named, and in that of Corry, full accounts of the interior economy of these buildings may be found; the royal chambers, the nurseries, the stores, the galleries of communication are there fully described.

In these and other authors, such works, by insects so small, form the basis of many disparaging reflections upon and comparisons with the works of man. Thus Winterbottom calculates that, with a comparative reference to the size of the respective builders, one of the larger "hills" of the termite ants is five times the height of the great pyramid of Egypt, and a great many times its solid contents. "If to this comparison we join that of the time in which the different buildings are erected, and consider the termites as raising them in the course of three or four years, the immensity of their works sets the boasted magnitude of the ancient wonders of the world in a most diminutive point of view, and gives a specimen of industry and enterprise *as much beyond the pride and ambition of men as St. Paul's cathedral exceeds an Indian hut.*"

Golberry has nearly the same remark. But the result is unsatisfactory to the mind, which *feels* a fallacy in such comparisons, which it may not at the moment be able to detect. No: it is not in this way that the pride of man is to be taken down. The fact of this matter is, that such constructions ought not to be compared with any of the *single* buildings of men, but with their *cities*. These hillocks are the cities of the inhabiting myriads of insects—cities with various buildings, palaces, store-houses, and streets; and it is with the cities of men they should be compared—then the man and the insect appear in the just proportions which God

intended to bestow:—as the insect is to the man, so are the cities of insects to the cities of men.

To return to Mr. Singleton. In the same neighbourhood of Yamaliconda, he remarks that in the neighbouring woods were many monkeys. "They are about four feet high, bark like dogs, and are very mischievous. They injure the corn, and have been known to beat a nurse and carry off a child. The oxen are here the finest I have yet seen in Africa. One of them, if fat, might weigh forty stones, fourteen pounds to the stone. In general the cattle are very small; nor is it to be wondered at, when we take into account the mode of feeding, or rather of pining them. Oxen or sheep from Salum* degenerate or die if brought to the Gambia country; but cattle bred near this river, if taken to the former place, improve very rapidly. Before I left home I was informed that English dogs would not live in Africa: this is a mistake.

"Returning to rest, at the door of a hut belonging to the captain's acquaintance, we had the place of honour (the elevated seat) given to us, the master sitting near us on the floor of the piazza: opposite to us sat an elderly woman and six men, all natives, whom curiosity had brought to see the white man. The captain, of his own accord, began to inform his friend, the owner of the hut, that a number of persons in England, who never fight, and who wish well to black men, had sent me to look to the country, that I might tell them, on my return, what would grow in it; and that probably I might come again and bring more white men with me, who would sit down among them, and teach black men to produce sufficient to keep them from want; and added, with a degree of animation which considerably affected me, 'Now, when your corn and rice are all done, you barter your slaves for more; and when you have eaten that, what then do you do?' 'We sit down and cry,' exclaimed the master of the hut. 'True; but if white man come and teach you, then you will find *work* for your slaves, and will say—Oh! now I no sell these: they work and bring me corn enough *every* year. Now I no *buy*, but SELL corn.' The host answered, 'Suppose we find dat, we very glad it.' 'Well,' returned the captain, 'where is there a place for white men to sit down and try?' The native answered very quickly, 'HERE!' The captain also informed him that Friends are desirous to teach the children to read, &c. His reply was, 'It very fine ting when he do that.' When our host interpreted this to the company, they appeared, by their attention and by their nods and smiles, to approve what he conveyed to them; and the earnestness with which they listened was as affecting as the captain's zeal had been before. There was no person of authority present. The interpreter met the captain afterwards in my absence, and again exclaimed, 'Oh! if dat gentleman do what you say, oh! a fine ting for our country!'"

From this man Mr. Singleton learned that, except among the Moslems, there is not any place or form of worship; nor have the Pagan Mandingoes any idols or images. They are given up to drunkenness and other vices, nor is there any check upon them as long as they do not injure one another. They are called Soonikees. Should any one resolve to abandon the evil practices of the Pagans, and to join the Moslems, he makes his intention known in the neighbourhood, and repairs to a Sereen, is taught to read and write the Arabic language, and is thenceforward designated *toobee*, or convert, until sufficiently versed in the Koran to merit the name of Sereen.

Not long after William Singleton's return, the Friends' African Committee was enlarged; and her preparatory studies having been completed, Hannah Kilham was ready to proceed to make a temporary residence in Africa, there to commence the long-meditated course of instruction to the natives, through the medium of their own languages. She was accompanied by some assistants of her own denomination—namely, Richard Smith, John Thompson, and his sister Ann Thompson.

Soon after their arrival (December, 1823), Brikow, at the Cape St. Mary, in the territory of the King of Combo, was chosen as the first station. The king's permission for their settlement at this place had been obtained; but it was found that the proprietor of the land on

* Perhaps *Galam*, for *Salum* is in the Gambia country.

which the house was built objected to any STONE building in addition, imagining that it might lead to more white men building in the place than would be agreeable to him. It was thought, however, that a present would remove his objections. On the 19th the Alcaide of Brikow visited Bathurst, and our Friends were invited to visit him at the government-house. Hannah Kilham, in one of her excellent letters, thus describes him:—"He is an old man, uncommonly large in person. His lethargic, uncouth appearance struck me painfully, and I thought, as we sat with him and a few who accompanied him, that teachers from England, of very little attainments in the estimation of their friends, might be qualified, if they had only right feeling and discretion, to do much in drawing the people of this country from their present state of degradation. The Alcaide told us he had no objection to our residence at Brikow; he considered that as a settled point: but with regard to schools, which he understood we wished to form, he should not give up his own children to be taught in them. He taught them Arabic at home, and others at Brikow did the same for their children; and he thought their learning Arabic was sufficient. They had no school at Brikow: he would not send his own children to one if opened—OTHERS MIGHT DO AS THEY LIKED. He was interrupted at intervals by Mahmadee,* who speaks Mandingo fluently, and sometimes with great energy.

"Captain Findlay (the commandant) told the Alcaide that we had left our own country and near connexions for the purpose of doing good to the people of Africa: that we were a people who never fight, so that there was no injury of any kind to be feared in that respect. He said other things to convince the Alcaide that good and not injury would be likely to arise from our residence among them. Still he appeared somewhat backward and reserved. Near the close of our conference, our present of an umbrella, romals, &c., being offered, he appeared pleased, and acknowledged to Captain Findlay that he was indebted in the first place to him, as through him we had been introduced. He remarked that white men first built one good house, then another, for themselves in this country: he wished they would build a good house *for him.* We were really glad to hear him make the suggestion, not merely for the reasonableness of his wish, that white men should thus give proof of their benevolence, but also that he should *express a wish to have a better house to live in.* Captain Findlay told him that if he would employ his people to get together proper materials (stone, lime, and wood), he would send people to build him a house. The Alcaide replied that the people were not HIS, to command them to work for him. I communicated to him something of our views and wishes for the good of the children, and respecting the whole object of our visit: but this did not appear the season for much free conversation; indeed it was evident that the way was in some degree obstructed." This, she supposes, might be probably owing to the fear of interference with their Mohammedan prejudices, "or they may not at present be fully aware of the simplicity and sincerity of our designs in attempting to benefit them." It does not appear to have occurred to this excellent woman that some of the embarrassment of the burly Alcaide might have been occasioned by his seeing a woman taking a prominent part in this affair; and appearing, as she actually was, the leader of the party. If this strikes us even in England, how much more would it not strike an African, accustomed to see women in an inferior and degraded position, the mere creature of man's use and service! The impression might, no doubt, act beneficially, however startling in the first instance. Indeed, that among the Friends the equality of woman to man is more marked, distinct, and real than among any other sect or people, forms one circumstance which peculiarly suits that body for that efficient action upon the minds of savage

* This person and his companion, Sandanee, have several times been mentioned in the preceding pages; and as the reader may take some interest in them, we communicate all the further information we possess. In 1824 Mahmadee had married and settled himself about twenty miles up the river. He was industrious, and purposed to attend to cultivation, and to have an evening school; but he had not continued that connexion with the Friends' undertaking for which he was originally designed. Sandanee, the other youth, had not at that time evinced a stability of character equal to the talent which he had manifested in conducting a native school. He was left at Bathurst under the care of the Rev. J. Morgan (Wesleyan), in whose school he was employed, and whose firm and judicious conduct toward him afforded a hope that he might yet be so far restored as to justify the Friends in entrusting him with a school for himself. This hope, as to the school at least, was not realized.

or barbarian people which we may regret that their peculiar tenets will not allow them freely to exercise.

In February, 1824, our Friends paid a visit to the King of Combo, in his own metropolis of Yindum. The account of this visit is written by a less vigorous hand than that of Hannah Kilham, and is not very interesting. The king seemed willing to agree to whatever was proposed, and made some sensible observations. There seemed little anxiety that the children should learn the English language; but, from the interest taken in the Mandingo Lessons, it was judged there would be a disposition to encourage schools in which the children should be taught to read their own tongue.

Some sentences written by Mrs. Kilham before quitting the station may be introduced with advantage. After some general remarks, we are told:—"I have visited many of the huts here, and have seen with grief in what a state of degradation and immorality the people live. Their wretched habits lead to much misery, and those domestic bonds which should unite and endear to each other the father, the mother, and children of one family, are here supplanted by jealousy, confusion, and, in many instances, great cruelty. While writing the last sentence I was called upon to visit a poor woman, who had been so inhumanly beaten by her husband that she was in danger of suffering greatly, if not of dying, through his treatment; and, although time was pressing, I immediately went. On my way I was informed that the King of Barra, some time ago, wishing to dismiss one of his wives, had ordered her legs to be broken, which was the cause of her death. All these things reminded me of the easy complacency with which I have heard some people in England talk of leaving the uncivilized part of the world to themselves, saying that they were very happy as they were, and much more INNOCENT than was imagined; but, indeed, from all the accounts which we hear from those who have really had a near view of the state of the uncivilized, it is evident that the innocency which is talked of at a distance is not found in them. On the contrary, all that we see or hear calls aloud for the help of those who have been favoured with the blessings of a Christian education, and the advantages of civilized and improved society.

"It appears to be the will of the MOST HIGH that his creatures should be made the agents and instruments of improvement to each other; and the state of this POOR COUNTRY, more perhaps than any other, demands the wakeful care and exertion of those who can feel for the people, and for the advancement of truth and righteousness in the earth."

We feel so much interest in this first attempt made by the English Quakers that has a look of Missionary exertion, and the views elicited by the unwonted enterprise are so fresh and solid, that we would very willingly extend our notice of its acts and sentiments; but what remains to be stated must be briefly told.

Mrs. Hannah Kilham, accompanied by Mr. Thompson, paid a visit to Sierra Leone, where the vigorous understanding of the lady produced many observations of great force and value. They returned to the Gambia, and the whole party embarked for England in June, with the exception of Mr. Smith, who was left in charge of the concern at Brikow. But the very next month this amiable and useful man expired, after an illness of eight days; and Mr. Thompson died at sea on the return home: so that of the four persons, who had only a few months before left England, only the two ladies survived. In announcing these circumstances the Committee did not feel prepared to speak decidedly as to their future course of proceeding; "but they wish to encourage Friends generally to cherish a feeling of interest in behalf of the natives of Africa, trusting that some way may yet open by which the labours of Friends may be engaged for their improvement."

It will be remembered that the great object of the Friends was—"The instruction of the natives of Africa in the principles of the Christian religion, in common school learning, and in such arts and improvements, especially those connected with agriculture or gardening, as might be found suitable to the situation and climate." And it is our sincere trust that such openings as they appear to desire may yet be found for the labour, towards these important objects, of a people whose temper and habits (like those of the United Brethren) have always tended to conciliate and influence uncivilized men.

We have already intimated that subsequent visits to Africa were paid by Hannah Kilham: the second was towards the end of 1827. The objects she had in view, as described by herself, were—"First, the obtaining an outline of the principal languages spoken by the liberated Africans and others in Sierra Leone, so as, by taking down in writing, in an easy and distinct orthography, the numerals and some of the leading words, to identify, as far as might be practicable, the dialects of the different tribes, to form an idea of the number of distinct languages, and to consider what prospect there might be of proceeding to reduce those of most importance to a written form; also to prepare such an outline for elementary instruction in each language as might introduce the pupils in the liberated African schools to a better knowledge of English than they at present possess." This was not only a truly Christian, but a truly philosophical object. After her return, in 1828, this venerable lady published "Specimens of African Languages spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone;" meaning, of course, languages spoken by the Africans of all nations collected in that spot. These specimens extended to *thirty* languages, and could not have been collected and systematized in the short time applied to the object without great skill and diligence.

In 1830 Mrs. Kilham once more visited Africa, in prosecution of those large views and benevolent designs, as connected with the languages of the coast, to which her attention had been so much directed. From Sierra Leone she visited the American colony of Liberia, and while at sea, on her return to the former place, died, leaving a name foremost among those of the strong-minded and useful women whom the Society of Friends has given to the world.

We have thus traced the direct operation of Friends in this quarter from their commencement to their termination, and may now return to the Wesleyan missionaries. The voyage of Mr. Morgan up the Gambia, in company with Major Grant, in 1823, which directed his attention to the Foulahs, and led to the establishment of the Foulah Mission, has been already noticed, and the history of that mission traced (p. 97). The account given by the Rev. W. Fox of his visit to Bondou, has been introduced in our notice of that kingdom. He also visited the Mandingo kingdoms of Barra, Nyani, and Woolli; but the particulars have not been reported, although it seems that the kings expressed themselves friendly to, if not solicitous for, the presence of missionaries and schoolmasters. With respect to Woolli, however, we learn from Sir T. F. Buxton (who had the use of Mr. Fox's journals), that the missionary failed not to urge upon the king the benefits of Christianity. "He (says Mr. Fox) listened attentively, appeared pleased, and said that was what he wanted; and if I would come and sit down on his ground, he would give me as much land as I wished, and his own children to be educated." I replied, "That if I sent a missionary I hoped he would protect him, and not allow anybody to trouble him." Koy (the king) answered, "that he *belonged* to white man, and if Tobaubo fodey (the white priest) came to sit down in his kingdom, nobody should, or would, trouble him." He also said, "He hoped God would preserve me; the object I had in view was very good." This encouragement has induced the Society to think of establishing a mission in Woolli, a kingdom which is known to the public better than some others in this quarter, through Mungo Park and Major Grant. The past measures of the Wesleyan missionaries in the Gambia appear to have been hitherto, to a great extent, of an elementary and preparatory nature; but now wider and more effectual doors of usefulness seem opening to them on every hand. Lately the members were 634, and the scholars 235.

In 1835 Dr. Lindoe and other friends, who had warmly supported the Foulah mission (see p. 102) of the Wesleyan Society, formed themselves into a new Committee, under the name of the "Institution for benefiting the Foulah Tribes, and, through them, Western Africa." This Committee contemplated the purchase of a large tract of land on the south bank of the river, over against Macarthy's Island, on which the wandering Foulahs might be induced to settle under British protection, and not only be instructed in the truths of the Christian religion, but trained to industrious habits, and the right application of such habits through improved processes in the arts of agriculture, commerce, and social life.

Difficulties occurred to prevent the acquisition of this tract of land, and the Committee turned its attention to the cultivation of the 600 acres already possessed in Macarthy's Island. "The

Committee are of opinion that it would be a great and manifold benefit to confer on the Heathen, when they are instructed in the great things of God's word, some of the leading implements and arts of civilized society. Can there be any individual who would say it would be well to leave them to invent the harrow, the plough, or the machine for separating the cotton from the seed, or the mill; and to learn by the revolution of years, and by tedious and circuitous experiments, the most advantageous methods of tilling the ground, and of furnishing themselves with the necessaries of life? Is it not rather an imperative duty to take them by the hand, and give them at once the decided advantages of our own important discoveries?"

This was in 1837: sufficient time has not been allowed for the adequate development of these operations; but, from a recent Report, drawn up by Mr. Fox, we learn, with much interest, that one-third of their 600 acres of land is cleared, a road has been cut through 440 acres, a bridge has been thrown over a deep creek, and 100 head of cattle have been bought to stock the land. It may be regarded as a sort of experimental or model farm, and it has, Mr. Fox thinks, exerted a salutary moral influence as well as conferred a great temporal blessing upon the poor inhabitants of Macarthy's Island. It has not only taught them industry, but has furnished them with the means of subsistence. "I have frequently employed a greater number than I actually wanted, from the very earnest and importunate applications made by them for work. They have come to me, and, with actions more expressive than words, have said, 'Massa, me not got no rice; me no got corn for eat; what me go do? Me no want go sit down in my house; me want for go work. Do, massa, I beg you, give me book* for go work.'"

Still more lately another institution of great promise has been set on foot by the Wesleyan Society. This is an Education Establishment for the purpose of training the sons of such chiefs and others of the natives as are willing to put them under the care of the missionaries for the acquisition of religious knowledge and general education. This object has received the support of most liberal contributions from the same parties who had interested themselves in the Foulah Institution; and if well conducted, very important results to this part of Western Africa may, with the Divine blessing, be expected from its operations.

Speaking generally of their proceedings in this quarter, the Wesleyan Missionary Society states:—"Although the plans which they originally contemplated have to some extent been frustrated by circumstances which no human power or wisdom could control, a large amount of good has been effected. And when it is moreover taken into account, that, in the same period, one of the principal languages of Western Africa, the Mandingo, has been reduced to a written form, it will appear that as much has been done as could reasonably be anticipated. The copious grammar of the Mandingo, and the translation of the Gospels into the same language by the Rev. Robert M. Macbriar, who was sent out for the express object—in connexion with the superior school establishment now in progress—will greatly facilitate future exertions in behalf of the aborigines of the extensive region through which that language is spoken."

The greatest of all the discouragements which the Missionary and the Civilizer have had to encounter on the coast of Africa, proceeds from the alleged insalubrity of the climate to the European constitution, and the consequent very heavy mortality with which their operations have been attended.

Here, therefore, before we enter upon the concluding chapter of this section of our work, we may introduce some facts and considerations respecting the climate and other circumstances by which the healthiness of the country to Europeans may seem to be affected.

At various points along the coast, and especially at the mouths and lower banks of the rivers, are generally extensive marshes and swamps (often mangrove swamps), which would be unwholesome anywhere, from mephitic exhalations, and are so eminently under the active operations of a tropical sun.

Now it unfortunately happens that such situations are those at which most of the European settlements have been formed:—the convenience of traffic having been in former times the only

* A sort of work-ticket, we conclude.

consideration entertained in forming a settlement; the conditions which determine the whole someness of one position above another having been unknown or disregarded.

The two tropics enclose within the torrid zone the greater part of the African continent, not more than one-fourth of its superficies being within the temperate zones. Nevertheless the temperature is less generally scorching than this distribution would seem to indicate. The elevation of the natural terraces, which, by their ascending stages, rise ultimately to a considerable height, possess, even under the equator, a mild and fresh air, and sometimes even a brisk and bracing cold. But the lower plains and the maritime shores, which more especially engage our present notice, are subject to the full ardour of an almost vertical sun, the effects of which are only mitigated by the constant winds and the regular breezes. Here, however, the range of temperature, as indicated by the rise or fall of the mercury in the thermometer, is much less considerable than might be supposed, or than is actually experienced, in the interior. We learn * that at Sierra Leone, as well as upon the Gold Coast, the *average* throughout the year is, in the shade, about 82°: it is seldom higher than 88° or lower than 72°. In the dry season the range may be from 78° to 86°, and in the rains from 74° to 83°. Dr. Winterbottom assures us that the lowest degree of heat he observed, during a residence of several years upon the coast, was at Port Logo, about 60 miles above Free-town, where the thermometer, about sunrise, stood at 68°; at Free-town itself he never found it lower than 70° 5′. This occurred during a tornado, which sunk the mercury 8° in less than two minutes. At the same place he never, in the course of four years, noticed the mercury higher than 98°. At 60 miles up the Rio Pongas he had found it 101° in the shade, and when laid on the ground in the sun the mercury rose to 138°. Watt and Winterbottom observed the thermometer as high as 103° in the shade in a village of the Susoo country; and the same persons, in their route through the districts of Tamiso and Benna, when returning from the Foulah country, observed that it rose frequently to 100°, and more than once to 102°, in the shade. In the Nunez they observed it as low as 60°, attended with copious and chilling dews; and in the Foulah country they found it as low as 51°. These latter facts evince the greater variations of temperature in the interior districts of Western Africa; and this is even more strikingly shown by the variation in the same day and in different days, as indicated by the meteorological table annexed to the Travels of Major Gray, where we note the mercury as low as 52° and as high as 97° *in the same day* and in one place (Kaukeenhang). This 52° is the lowest which anywhere occurs in this officer's registers: it was in February: his highest (in June) is 113° (at Gooderie). In one case, a few days before the rains, he marks the heat of water, in Wallia Creek, as 80°.

It is within the experience of the present writer that a temperature as high as any of these numbers indicate, is compatible with sound health to Europeans; and judging from facts, of which we have taken careful note, we should say that the constant and less varying warmth of the damp coast, although never as high as more inland, must be less favourable to health than the reviving alternations which the more inland districts offer—the invigorating coolness, or at least much reduced temperature, which is occasionally experienced, enabling the system better to endure even an occasionally higher degree of warmth. When the reader considers that the general heat of the coast climate, for the whole year, is superior to the mean summer heat of Europe, he will perceive the absence of those relieving and beneficial alternations of warmth and coolness to which we refer. Even on the coast, however, it is less the heat of the climate than its dampness which is considered injurious to Europeans. And it is true that, taken on the whole, the country is only during the season of rain unwholesome *even* to Europeans. Much of the unwholesomeness which has been ascribed to the climate of Western Africa in general arises from the bad choice of situations for settlements; and even in these great improvements of healthiness have taken place where the environs in the course of time have been cleared and cultivated, and the lands drained. Sierra Leone, for instance, is admitted to be even much more wholesome than it was in the earlier years of its history as an English settlement.

In the temperate zones, the year is naturally divided into summer and winter—spring and

* Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Sierra Leone, 1827.

autumn are merely the times of transition from one of these extremes to the other. But in Western Africa, as in most parts of the torrid zone, these conditions cease, and the seasons are distinguished as the *wet* and the *dry*.

The *wet*, or *rainy* reason, differs as to the time of its commencement, being later the farther we recede from the equator; or in other words (those of Wadstrom), "The rainy seasons follow the passage of the sun to either tropic, so as generally to prevail in those places where the sun is vertical." Thus on the Gold Coast the rains are much earlier, but do not continue more than half as long as at Sierra Leone, where the rains usually commence at the end of May, and continue four or five months.* At this place the season has continued six or eight weeks before it begins at Senegal. It must not be imagined that there is continuous rain throughout the whole of this "rainy season." As much as thirty hours of continuous rain, occurs but a few times during the season; and most usually twelve hours of heavy rain are followed by twenty-four, thirty, or more hours of clear and pleasant weather. Some idea of the immense quantity of the rain which deluges Western Africa at this season, may be formed from the fact that at Senegal the quantity falling during the *four months* of its continuance has been estimated at 115 inches, being about as much as falls during *four years* in our "rainy" island.

For Sierra Leone we have no estimate so high as this, but still such as is only equalled in other tropical countries.†

From the comparative coolness, the season of rain is the most pleasant to Europeans, but at the same time it is the most unhealthy. In this season they suffer far more than the natives; but even to them the season is so unwholesome that the Timannees, in distinguishing the year into two seasons, call the season of rain *Lokko a-liss*, "bad time;" and the dry season, *Lokko feenoo*, "good time." Undoubtedly, as already intimated, the reeking exhalations from the saturated soil form the prime cause of the unwholesomeness of this coast. It is to be observed, however, that all rainy seasons are not equally unwholesome. "I am at a loss," reports Staff-Surgeon Burney, "to say which of our settlements is the most unwholesome; each has occasionally periods of health and disease. Sierra Leone was very sickly in 1823, the Gold Coast in 1824, and the Gambia has been remarkably so during the last two rainy seasons." Remittent fever is the disorder produced, and which proves so mortal. It is not, however, to be supposed that every one who is attacked by this fever dies. The medical officer just named reports that in the seven years ending in 1826 the mortality, in proportion to the number of cases treated, was, on the Gold Coast, as one to two and a half; at Sierra Leone, as one to two and a quarter; but on the Gambia, scarcely a man recovered. The information given in the Medical Report of the Church Missionary Society, published in 1825, is important, as indicating the effect of climate upon the Missionaries sent out by that body to the coast of Africa, and almost exclusively to Sierra Leone.

It appears that between the month of March, 1804, and August, 1825, eighty-nine individuals, mostly in the prime of life, arrived upon the coast, of whom fifty-one were males and thirty-eight females. Of this number fifty-four had died, seven returned to England in good health, fourteen in ill health, and fourteen remained at the time upon the coast: of those who died, thirty-two were males and twenty-two females: two were lost at sea. No similar statement

* Dr. Winterbottom describes the rains as ceasing in the end of September at Sierra Leone; but the Government Commissioners (Report, 1827) ascribe the termination of the season to the end of October; whence we presume that it varies between the two dates.

† The following comparisons may supply some clearer notions on this point. The Senegal estimate is Dr. Lind's; that for Sierra Leone is from Dr. Winterbottom:—

	Inches.
Senegal, West Africa, during four months rainy season	115
Sierra Leone—one rainy season, 82½ inches, another	86
Kingston, Jamaica	83
Calcutta	81
Kendal, Westmoreland	56
Rome	39
Liverpool	33
Edinburgh	24
London (in 1834)	20½
Petersburgh	16

respecting the resident Europeans generally could be found; but it was the general opinion that neither the officers of the civil establishment, the merchants, nor any other European residents, suffered in the same proportion as the Missionaries and the military officers. Some further particulars, from the Report of the Government Commissioners in 1827, are given in a note below.*

It may be well believed that such losses as are thus recorded made the subject of the unhealthiness of this coast a matter of most grave consideration to the Missionary Societies—especially to the Church Missionary Society, the operations of which in this quarter were the earliest, and have been the most extensive. At the period to which the statements we have introduced more particularly refer, it was our own privilege to be intimately acquainted with a large body of devout young men, who were preparing for the Missionary service; and well do we remember—can we ever forget?—the mixed feelings of faith and trembling, of acquiescence and grief, with which letter after letter from Western Africa was read, announcing in rapid succession that, as it might be, one or many more of those who had lately themselves been present, had been taken from their labours. It became so usual to annex the idea of death with Western Africa, that a grave and chastened sorrow stole into every breast even before the seals were broken. Many who were very dear to our own soul, found graves in Africa, almost as soon as they touched its mortal shores; and we know not but that the interest with which we regarded Western Africa, for their sakes, has led to the commencement of our undertaking with that country. Those who were appointed to fill the vacancies which had thus been occasioned became objects of peculiar interest to their companions, and ardent prayers and many tears attended their departure, for such an appointment was by all considered as a sentence of death to such as received it. But the result only served to evince that the spirit of the old martyrs was not extinct; for we can most solemnly declare that of those known to us who were thus called forth to stand up to be "baptized for the dead," there was not one who shrunk from the service, or would have moved a straw to procure his appointment to some more genial station. True, they felt—at least many of them—as doomed to death; but they had "the sentence of death in themselves"—"that they should not live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them;" and they were strengthened and made willing to endure all things for his sake; willing to live—for life is pleasant to the young—but not unwilling to die.

On the most anxious consideration of the questions resulting from the proved unhealthiness of the climate to Europeans and Americans, the Societies connected with the Coast were led to conclude that the best course would be to conduct their operations in this quarter by means of *native* agents, or such as were of native extraction. Something had already been done or attempted towards training natives for this service, and now (1827) one of the German Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. C. F. Haensel, was sent to Sierra Leone for the purpose of reviving and placing on an efficient footing an institution which had formerly been formed for that object. The same Society opened communications with America, in the hope of procuring from that quarter persons of colour, competent to act as Missionaries. The Society thought it had some prospects of ultimate success in this object, but admitted that the low state of improvement among the class precluded the expectation of any considerable or im-

* From June, 1810, to December, 1825, the number of European troops stationed upon the western coast of Africa, exclusive of officers, was 5823; and the number of deaths among them was 1912, or nearly *one in three;* whilst in the same period the number of African troops was 6769, and the deaths 254—about *one in twenty-six.* More distinct information respecting the effects of climate upon this description of persons may however be obtained by referring to those years in which it is possible to compare the number of deaths with the number of arrivals. In the year 1824, 283 European troops joined, making the total number upon the coast 346, of whom 301 died the same year. In 1825, 1154 European troops joined, making a total of 1193, and of these 621 died. In February the same year, 108 soldiers—young men between 17 and 30—were sent to the Isles de Los: when visited in March the year following 52 had died, and there were few of the remainder who did not suffer from the effects of disease. Their conduct had been exemplary, and the means of dissipation had been out of reach. Yet the islands were considered healthy compared with the coasts of the main-land. The proportion of deaths among the officers may also be regarded as a tolerably safe criterion of the effects of the climate. The number of officers upon the coast during the eight years subsequent to the cession of Senegal and Goree, was 269, and the number of deaths 65, or one-fourth of the whole. In 1824 the total number was 41, the deaths 26; in 1825 the total number was 51, the deaths 17.

mediate aid from that direction. The attention which was drawn to this question in America is shown by the following extract from a publication by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions :—

" As a residence on the African Coast is fatal to white men, Providence would seem to indicate that descendants of Africans should be taught, who have been exposed to the damps of a warm climate, and who would probably live to the ordinary age of men, if sent as Missionaries to the land of their ancestors. Inquiries have been made in the Southern States [of N. America] with reference to this subject; and apparently the greatest obstacle in the way of sending black men, who would be competent to the work, is the want of a tried and approved method of imparting to them a suitable education."

Meanwhile the English Society continued to send white men to the Coast, but this the American Society refrained from doing, avowedly because of the unhealthiness of the climate, and from a stronger hope of being able to provide negro Missionaries.

The Government itself arrived at somewhat similar conclusions. The abandonment of the colony of Sierra Leone, on the account of the fatality of its climate to Europeans, and also because of its inadequate returns for the cost of retaining it, was repeatedly urged in the House of Commons; and in 1830 a Committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the Colony, with reference to the adoption of future measures. In the debate on this occasion the Secretary for the Colonies (Sir George Murray) intimated the views of Government on this subject. This Colony was deemed not more unhealthy than other stations on the Coast, and produced no bad effects on persons born there; and it was therefore intended, as far as possible, to fill up the civil situations, in future, with persons of colour. In intimating this intention of conducting the Settlements on the African Coast as much as possible by persons of colour, the British Government arrived at the same conclusion which had previously been formed by the American Government, in opening, at their colony of Liberia, an outlet for Africo-Americans—that it was necessary to seek the permanent and extensive good of Africa by means of Africans themselves.

How these views operated we shall see in the history of the Liberation Colonies. It is easy to trace a modification in the views of the Missionary Societies—who, although they ceased not to insist on the value and importance of native agencies, are soon heard offering encouragement to White Missionaries, by large views concerning the true value of life, or by pointing to indications that the coast climate, near the settlements, was in course of amelioration; and that by proper care, and by the helps which science offered, many of its dangers might be averted. To the former class belong the considerations which the American Board in 1833 placed before the missionary it was about to send to this quarter, and who was gradually to initiate himself into the climate of Africa, by returning to America before the commencement of the rains in the first year of his mission.

The Board reminds him that the privations and hardships of the life before him are extraordinary only in the history of missions—in the history of science and of commerce they are common and familiar scenes. Examples are there adduced of sufferings and endurance in the history of commercial and scientific enterprise; and it is asked if the same things shall not be endured for the glory of Christ, and the salvation of men? We think, however, that such comparisons are injurious, and do not meet the case in the way of analogy. Such enterprises are temporary efforts of action or sufferance for the attainment of an immediate object, to be crowned soon by wealth, or by the applause of men; whereas what is required of the Missionary is not a matter of months or years, but the quiet consecration of *his life*, with *all* its energies and powers, to a purely benevolent object, the reward of which lies in another world. More to the purpose is the following :—

" Time, what is it? In respect to MATTER, it measures the revolutions of worlds around their axes and through their orbs; but in respect to MAN, time is the indicator of the number of his thoughts and feelings and actions. Time seems long or short to every man in proportion to the number of these; and so it is. That man lives longest whose intellect and heart are

most instinct with being, and who puts forth the greatest number of actions; and he lives to the best purpose whose thoughts, feelings, and actions all tend most to render the Gospel effectual to the salvation of men. Whose life is longer, when measured by such a standard, and whose is more desirable, than was that of Brainerd, or Martyn, or Mills?—although neither of them saw half the number of days allotted to human existence on earth."

It was only the next year that the same body found occasion to doubt the alleged impracticability of the climate; and the statement, addressed by the Board to another missionary, combines so many facts and suggestions of value, as entitles it to insertion in this place:—

"You are aware there is a feeling of discouragement with respect to Western Africa as a field of missions; and some men are ready even to doubt the propriety of sending any more White Missionaries to that portion of the continent. So far as the Committee are informed, this impression is owing solely to the supposed fatality of the climate. It becomes you and the Committee to scrutinize the grounds of this opinion with great care. We believe it is founded on erroneous impressions both of facts and principles.

"The Church is by no means furnished with facts enough to draw inferences concerning the unavoidable effects of climate in Western Africa. The extent of coast from Cape Negro to Cape Verde is 3500 miles, and the only point along this vast coast on which our [the American] missionaries have died, is Monrovia. In not more than two other points have Protestant missionaries from Europe been or suffered. This united experience cannot be sufficient to warrant our despair of being able to live upon the coast, or in the upland countries remote from the sea. Who knows but that there may be fifty other points on the sea-shore, and immense inland districts, comparatively healthful, where white men may reasonably expect to live to a good old age of usefulness? The sufferings and deaths of travellers in Africa rather illustrate the state of society than that of the climate; they have lived beyond all reasonable expectation: we recollect but one who has fallen a sacrifice to disease upon the coast; nearly all who attempted to enter the inland countries succeeded, and most of those who were not cut off by violence returned, notwithstanding extreme exposures and privations, to relate the story of their adventures. Commerce can throw but little light on the subject: she goes everywhere, indeed; but most of her business is transacted in the mouths of rivers, where decayed vegetable matter and dark mangrove swamps give tenfold malignancy to the causes of disease. Much of her trade has been in ardent spirits; and what her agents sell they too often drink; and who can tell the amount of their indiscretions, of their dissoluteness, and of the furious passions which agitate their minds, and predispose them to sickness and death?

"The fact is—and we will turn our eyes to the brightest side of the picture—the *Malaria* of Western Africa will not much longer frighten the Church from the performance of its duty. In the progress of science, experience, and intelligent piety, it will cease to be regarded as the agent of blind fate or chance. The connexions between causes and effects are being fast developed in these latter days. The great fact is coming out—that natural evils, to a far greater extent than has been supposed, are punishments for violating natural laws; especially the laws of organic matter, which chemical science is rapidly developing. Indeed, the still greater fact is attracting the attention of mankind—that most of the evils which afflict our race are owing to an infraction of the laws, physical or moral, which God has prescribed for the good of his creatures. No longer Fate, or Destiny, or Chance, but God's Providence, is seen standing up in grand parallel with the evils of life—punishing man for violating the benevolent laws of the universe. The developement of this interesting fact, so as to make it exert a powerful influence upon the conduct of men, inciting them to temperance in all things, will form the characteristic of the present age, and make it glorious in the history of the world. The developement of this fact is what is relieving the cholera of its terrors to all virtuous and temperate men. And the progress of this developement will no doubt ultimately furnish a life preserver for every man whose duty calls him to plunge into the pestiferous vapours of tropical climes. Experiments of the most decisive character have been made, not in Africa, perhaps, but in the West Indies and other parts of the world, where the climate is the same; and it has been shown that a

good constitution, entire abstinence from ardent spirits, a proper attention to food and clothing, and the degree of exposure and exercise, and a cheerful performance of duty, will ordinarily ensure health in the worst of climates.

"As for the PRINCIPLES in these objections to a mission in Western Africa, it is sufficient to expose their tendency. In general the tropical regions are the most populous in the world; and almost the whole of Africa is between the tropics. Twice in the year does the sun pour its vertical rays on the greater part of its inhabitants; and Captain Owen, of the British navy, in his late surveys, has shown that both sides of the continent are equally unhealthy. Shall the White Man, after having trampled on Africa for two centuries, after having drawn myriads of slaves from its unhappy shores, and made his influence felt, like that of a demon, in every valley, plain, and mountain of its fertile regions, and on every oasis of its mighty deserts—shall the white man now turn his back on that unhappy continent? Shall the CHURCH do this? Shall WE risk nothing to heal the wounds of Africa, which our fathers inflicted? Long since, dear brother,* have you answered these inquiries, and answered them like a disciple of the blessed Jesus. You have given yourself to be made an instrument, in the hands of the Holy Spirit, of imparting the Gospel to Africa."

The diligent researches and inquiries of the American Colonization Society produced some further information on this very important subject; an Address, issued by the Maryland State Colonization Society,† in explanation of the motives and expectations with which its colony at Cape Palmas had been established, states that, in point of health, it was believed that this station possessed superior advantages over the colonies previously established. Dr. Hall, who resided for upwards of two years at Monrovia, explored the coast east of Cape Palmas, and stated the fact, from his own experience and observation, that a vessel rarely entered Monrovia Roads from the windward about Rio Grande, Nunez, or Pongas in a healthy condition; while, on the contrary, a case of sickness as rarely came to his knowledge on board vessels returning from the leeward about Cape Palmas. Captain Spence, an English gentleman who had for upwards of fourteen years maintained a settlement at the mouth of the Cestos River, between Bassa and Cape Palmas, informed Dr. Hall, "that during his long residence there, he often had occasion to employ on shore masters of vessels and their crews direct from Europe, and that they had frequently remained on shore for weeks and even months; and that during the whole time but few cases of disease had occurred among foreigners, which could in any degree be attributed to the climate." At the former settlements, the danger to foreigners from remaining on shore a single night was well known. These facts may be accounted for on an inspection of the map of Africa, where it may be seen that from the Senegal, north of Cape Verde, to the St. Paul's near Cape Palmas, the country is intersected by rivers, rising far in the interior, and all bringing to the ocean vast quantities of alluvial deposit, to create and give rank luxuriance to the mangrove swamps, the supposed prolific cause of death—while, from the St. Paul's round by Cape Palmas to the Assinee near Cape Three Points, no rivers of any length appear on the map.

From information reaching down to the present time it would appear that the old established settlements, and those of more recent date which had been formed with distinct reference to the choice of a healthy site, have been comparatively free from mortality, which has been most prevalent in those settlements of more recent date which have been formed with reference only to the convenience, and not to the wholesomeness of the locality. To the great melioration of Sierra Leone in this respect, of which there is now no question, the attention of the Church Missionary Society was called in 1837 by the Rev. N. Graf, who says—"There is a fact which proves clearly that the climate has greatly improved for some years past, viz., that during

* The Rev. John Leighton Wilson.

† This Society was formed in January, 1831, auxiliary to the objects of the American Colonization Society; but differing from all other auxiliaries, inasmuch as its constitution required that the funds raised in Maryland should be appropriated by the Society within the limits of the State. It will be borne in mind that it has been the object of these Colonization Societies to send Africo-Americans to their parent country, and establish them there in agricultural and, in a degree, civilized communities.

the past year (1836) *not a single European* died of the country fever; and it is supposed that in another ten years Sierra Leone will become as healthy as any place in the West Indies." Nothing has since occurred to weaken this impression. The very next year indeed was most fatal on this coast; the mortality was very serious in the Wesleyan missions in the north, and those of the Americans in the south; but not one missionary died at Sierra Leone, although considerable illness was experienced. The remarkable season appears to have been such as recurs every sixth or seventh year, when "the country fever," as it is called, rages with epidemic force, and few who are attacked by it escape with life, except in the healthier stations, where it only produces extraordinary sickness. It seems that all Europeans must go through this country fever, and that much depends upon the time of the year. In the dry season it is got over with little danger; and it is considered that the sooner after his arrival the stranger is attacked by it the better. The fever commences with violent head-ache, and soon ends in death. If not fatal, it does not last long; but the effects are experienced for several weeks, during which great caution is necessary to prevent a relapse. Exposure to the sun is particularly avoided. The medical men treat this disorder chiefly with quinine.

The subject of the healthiness of the West African climate is, in every point of view—missionary, commercial, political—of so much importance, as to call for the extended notice we have bestowed upon it.

CHAPTER XI.

QUADRUPEDS OF WESTERN AFRICA.

[Chimpanzee.]

It is not our intention to write—not even to sketch—the natural history of any country. Very rarely shall we *describe* any animals otherwise than by the figures of them which we introduce. There are few persons, however, who do not take more or less interest in the *history* of animals; and it seems in some degree essential to know by what animals a country is inhabited, and what trees and plants God has given to its forests and its fields. He has placed man and certain animals and certain trees together; and if we set them asunder—if we exhibit man in any country apart from companions which have so essential an influence on his temporal prospects and condition—we so far leave our history of man imperfect. The trees and plants we, like nature, have dispersed over our field of view; but, in exhibiting the animals, it seems better to show to the reader, in one point of view, the several species which would attract his attention were he to visit the country himself, and to tell him such particulars concerning them as he would like to hear. For minute descriptions and scientific details the reader will turn to more formal sources of information, and will expect from us only such anecdotes as occur to our notice in the countries which pass under our survey.

As to apes, monkeys, baboons, &c., their name is Legion in all the country from the Senegal

to Sierra Leone, and beyond. Our own old traveller, Captain Jobson, with reference to the Gambia, writes—"The baboons and monkeys go in herds; the monkeys always by themselves, and also the baboons: and are found within the river islands, to which they swim, contrary to some men's conceits. I had a monkey which swam and dived often to escape from him which pursued him. The baboons go three or four thousand in a herd, some of the greater being leaders (their greatest are as big as lions), the smaller following, with ever and anon a great one inserted among them as a commander. The females carry their young under their bellies; and if they have two, one of them is carried on the back. In the rear comes a great company of the bigger sort, as a guard against pursuers. Thus do they march along, and are very bold. When we come near their troops they will get up into the trees, and stand and gaze upon us; and, in a kind of choleric humour, the great ones will shake the trees, and with their hands clatter the boughs, with greater strength than a man is able; barking and making a noise at us, as much offended: and, so following us, in the night, when we ride at anchor, take up their stand on the mountain-tops or the trees above us, where we might hear their government. For often in the night you shall hear many voices together, when, instantly, one great voice exalts itself, and the noise is so suddenly hushed that we were wont to say, *Master Constable speaks!* On shore, when we suddenly meet with these troops, the great ones will come forward and seem to grin in our faces, flying on the first offer of a gun. One of our people killed one with a piece; but before the boat could be got ashore the others had got it up and taken it away. The natives eat them heartily.

"We have seen in desert places, haunts of theirs, trees and plants wound and wrought together in that artificial manner, thickly folded overhead to keep away the sun, and the ground so smooth and beaten below, as might appear an excellent arbour. Such places they are said to use only for their dancing and disport. No man living who should see the place, ignorant of the facts, would think otherwise of it than as man's handiwork, which we knew it could not be."

In the higher class, that of apes, the old travellers speak much of a species which they designate by its native name of *pongo*, which our modern naturalists seem disposed to regard as the adult chimpanzee. It will be remembered that, although specimens of both the orang-utan and of the chimpanzee have been brought to this country, they have all been young ones, and none of them have been kept alive for any length of time. The change which the lapse of years might produce in their appearance has, therefore, not been observed, and there is reason to fear that, in this state of ignorance, the young and the old of the same animal have in these and many other instances been often taken for distinct species. It is also true that, although some notion of the character and capabilities of these animals has been obtained, almost nothing is known of their habits and operations in their natural condition. Under the explanation that the pongo is more probably an adult chimpanzee than a distinct species, we give the account supplied by Andrew Battell, who spent nineteen years (after 1589) in the more southern countries of the western coast than now engage our attention. The points in this description which are open to doubt or strong suspicion will easily strike the reader. In this quarter, also, we learn that "the woods are so filled with baboons, monkeys, apes, and parrots, that it will fear any man to travel alone in them." He then goes on:—"The pongo is in all proportion like a man; but he is more like a giant than a man in stature; for he is very tall, hath a man's face, is hollow-eyed, with long hair upon his brows. His face and ears are without hair, and his hands also. His body is full of hair, but not very thick, and it is of a dunnish colour. He differeth not from a man but in his legs, for they have no calf. He goeth always upon his legs, and carrieth his hands clasped on the nape of his neck, when he goeth upon the ground. They sleep in trees, and build shelters from the rain. They feed upon fruit that they find in the woods, and upon nuts, for they eat no kind of flesh. They cannot speak, and have no understanding more than a beast. The people of the country, when they travel in the woods, make fires where they sleep in the night; and in the morning when they are gone the pongoes will come and sit about the fire till it goeth out, for they have no understanding to lay the wood together. They go many together, and kill many negroes that travel

in the woods. Many times they fall upon the elephants which come to feed where they be, and so beat them with their clubbed fists and with pieces of wood, that they will run roaring away from them. These pongoes are never taken alive, because they are so strong that two men cannot hold one of them; but yet they take many of their young ones with poisoned arrows. The young pongo hangeth on his mother's belly with his hands fast clasped about her; so that, when the country people kill any of the females, they take the young one, which hangeth fast upon his mother. When they die among themselves they cover the dead with great heaps of boughs and wood, which are very commonly found in the forests."

Purchas, whose thirst for knowledge led him to seek the acquaintance of Battell after his return, says that this person told him that a negro boy of his (whom Purchas himself saw) had been taken away by one of these animals, and detained for a month, during which they appeared to take much pleasure in his company, and treated him with great kindness. It is also remarked that they never injure those whom they surprise unaware, but only such as regard them with attention, which this boy took care to avoid.

Now, it happens that at the present time, if any one inquires of the natives of Western Africa respecting the native habits of the chimpanzee, he receives an account almost exactly the same as Andrew Battell gives; and the information which gentlemen who have lived in Western Africa supply is essentially of the same character. And this, coupled with the fact that the chimpanzee is peculiar to Africa, and, as far as we know, to the western part of that continent, gives the utmost probability to the fact that the pongo and the chimpanzee are the same.

The editor of Astley's 'Collection of Voyages' (1745) recognises "the champaniz, whereof one was lately brought to England from Africa," in the *Quojas Morrow*, or *Worrow*, called by the Portuguese El Salvage, or the Savage, and which, from the description given by Barbot, is doubtless the same as the pongo. It is said to be easily taught, not only to walk upright, but to carry a pail of water on its head, and convey heavy burdens from one place to another. The negroes believe it would speak but for fear of being set to work.

The few specimens of the young chimpanzee which have been brought to this country have all been brought from the Gambia, and have all died very soon. Their dispositions were remarkably docile and gentle; and many interesting accounts of their intelligence and their ready adoption of human habits are on record. The gentleness of the young animal, however, proves nothing as to the character of the adult, as it is well known that among many animals, even among apes, the mildness and playfulness of the young become exchanged for a most ferocious and savage character in the adult.

A figure of the chimpanzee has been given in the first chapter, where also some information may be found respecting the distinctive organization of this animal and of the orang-utan, which last is not an African animal, and therefore does not require to be noticed in this place.

It may be well to remark that all the various species of apes, as well as of monkeys, are sylvan animals, inhabiting the trees which grow thickly on the banks of all the larger rivers of Africa, where they swing about from branch to branch and from tree to tree with a birdlike agility, very different from the apparent difficulty and sluggishness with which they move on all-fours or on their hind extremities. The tail of the monkeys is an additional and very important organ of progression, by means of which their motions are far more rapid and fearless than those of the tailless apes and short-tailed baboons. When this tail is prehensile, as in the lemurs, &c., its importance as an organ of progression is raised to the highest pitch, and attracts the admiration of the most cursory spectator in a menagerie.

Of proper apes we know not that we can name any besides this chimpanzee. Our information leads us more than to suspect that the Barbary ape is found on the Senegal; but as F. Cuvier limits the habitat of this animal to Egypt, Barbary, and Southern Spain, we will not venture to introduce it on the authority we possess.

It were an endless task to enumerate the Simiadæ of Western Africa, where the species are perhaps more numerous than in any other part of the world. Indeed, but a small proportion

of them have been distinguished and described. The reader who takes pleasure in this branch of knowledge may, however, desire to have a few of the more marked species enumerated.

Of *baboons*, or short-tailed apes, there are many. They are in every way the worst, the ugliest, the most disagreeable and malicious of the whole tribe. They are also exceedingly indocile as compared with either the true apes or the monkeys. The common baboon, which is most frequently seen in our exhibitions, is a native of Western Africa. It is rather amusing and gentle in youth, but ceases to be familiar or playful as it grows old, and acquires all the intractableness and ferocity which distinguish the race.

The *mandrill*, which is the largest of the whole genus, is common in the country to which our statement refers, and, we doubt not, is the "bear-looking ape" formerly mentioned;

[Mandrill.]

where, however, its habits are obviously confounded with those of the pongo. The mandrill measures five feet when standing upright; and it is impossible to look at the figure without perceiving the immense muscular power with which it is endowed, and seeing how terrible it might be to other animals if its habits were carnivorous. We are persuaded that these mandrills are the apes marching in large bands which Jobson describes, for this is known to be its habit. The same things are said of its aggressions on elephants and men, as have been stated of the pongo. The mandrills are said often to plunder the negro villages of all provisions while the inhabitants are absent in the fields; and it is certain that they commit great ravages among the fruits and growing crops.

The mandrill is undoubtedly the *barris*, of which Barbot tells us, that they are such great lovers of oysters that at low water they go down to the shore among the rocks, and when the shells open from the heat of the sun, they clap a small stone into the opening and then extract the oyster. Sometimes it happens that the stone slips out, or is too little, and the animal being then caught as in a trap, is easily taken and killed by the negroes, who reckon its flesh, as they do that of most other apes, delicious food. They are usually eaten boiled with rice, or the smaller species are often smoked and dried whole, as Europeans cure bacon and neats' tongues; but we may easily conceive that, as travellers tell us, the sight of an ape or monkey so dried is quite sufficient to quell the appetite of a European. Barbot once saw an ape boiling in a pot at the house of Captain John Thomas (a native), at Sierra Leone, but he could not be prevailed upon to touch it, although several Europeans had assured him that monkey-flesh is good meat.

Perhaps the entrapment of the baboon by the closing of an oyster-shell may render it proper to explain, that the oysters in this quarter are sometimes so large as to be a sufficient meal for one man; but, as we can readily understand, these are so tough as to be scarcely eatable unless first well boiled, and then fried in small pieces.

Like others, this animal is docile enough when young, but much otherwise as years increase.

There was one in the Surrey Zoological Gardens—a very fine specimen—which manifested a too human liking for fermented and spirituous liquors. He might be seen daily in a little arm-chair, smoking his pipe with great perseverance, and laying it down now and then to take a draught from a pot of porter which stood beside him, with the imperturbable gravity and ease of one utterly unconscious that he was not performing the most natural functions in the world. It is odd that the least commendable—if not positively bad habits of men, are always those which all animals are the most easily taught;—and yet it is not so very odd, for it is rather in the use or abuse of those faculties in which man is but a little higher than the brutes, rather than in those in which he is "but a little lower than the angels," that animals might be expected to imitate him.

The Drill, also from the same region, is much better known in this country than the other. It is much like the mandrill, save in its inferior size and power, and in the difference of its colours. Its dispositions are also similar; but its habits in a state of nature are but little known.

Of proper MONKEYS, the variety in Western Africa is very great. There is the jet black, but white-bearded *Simia Silicus;* the dog monkey (*S. cynocephalus*), which, save in the tail, differs not greatly from the common ape; the Callithrix, or Green Monkey (*Cercocebus Sabæus*), which is often enough seen in menageries, where, however, its beautiful native hue

[Green Monkey.]

fades into a dingy olive. Adanson tells us that the woods of Podor, along the Senegal, are filled with green monkeys; and they are, doubtless, the same which figure in the narrative of the Sieur Brue. (See before, p. 38.) Adanson could discover them only by the branches which they cast down from the tops of the trees; for from their colour, as well as from their nimbleness and perfect silence, it was difficult to catch a glimpse of them in their natural positions. He shot two or three, however; after which the rest became alarmed, and sought shelter behind the trunks and larger branches. Some descended to the ground; but the greater number of those which remained unwounded sprang with great agility from the top of one tree to another. As they did so, the remorseless naturalist continued to shoot until, in the space of about forty yards, he had killed twenty-three in less than an hour. Not one of them uttered the smallest cry, although they frequently assembled in troops, grinding their teeth with a most threatening aspect, as if designing to attack the implacable destroyer. In menageries these animals exhibit a waspish temper, and are not much liked.

Among the remaining species are the black nodding monkey (*S. nictitans*), so called from its frequently nodding its head. Its disposition is playful (perhaps only in youth). Then

there is the red monkey (*S. rubra*), named from the deep blood red colour of the crown, back, and tail: one variety has a yellow beard with a black band over the eyes; another a white beard, with the band over the eyes also white. But we will not occupy the reader with mere descriptive details unaccompanied by anecdotes for which we cannot allow room; and therefore, passing by a number of different species—black, green, grey, brown, olive, and white—let us remark that there are two species near Sierra Leone, which are distinguished by the absence of thumbs to the forehands. One of these, the bay monkey (*Simia bodia*), is only remarkable for this peculiarity, which, one must think, cannot but have a remarkable influence upon the habits of both species; but the other is remarkable, not only on this account, but as enjoying the proud title of "King of the Monkeys" (*Roi des Singes*), which is given to it by the natives

[*Colubus polycomos*, otherwise *Simia regalis*.]

of Sierra Leone, in whose forests it is found. It seems to have received it from its singular appearance, and very beautiful colours. That appearance will be estimated from the annexed figure. Its remarkable head, of long floating hairs, yellow, mingled with black, suggesting some resemblance to the *chevelure* of a wig, induced Pennant to give the animal the name of Full Bottom. This, together with its snow-white tail, are strongly and effectively set off by the jet black of its hair which covers the rest of its body. It is rather a large species; and its skin is manufactured by the negroes into pouches and gun-cases.

Golberry says that the Europeans in Africa amuse themselves much with monkeys, and have them almost always in their houses. But they are seldom seen among the negroes, as the latter do not regard them merely as animals, but are persuaded that they partake of the nature of human beings: and the common class of more ignorant and simple negroes are said to doubt whether apes are not a degenerate species of men; or rather, whether they are not their own ancestors: that is to say, whether the negroes are not a race of apes in a state of

perfection. It strikes the mind very forcibly to see the negroes themselves admitting an origin which is only in Europe deemed a speculative stigma upon them, and from which they have been very zealously vindicated; and it is impossible not to feel that men must be in a low condition, when that which they find in themselves leads them to conclude that they are only a little higher than the apes. "They cannot be persuaded," Golberry adds, "that the retired apes, who construct a sort of hut, and live in numerous societies in the heart of the solitary forests, are real animals. They believe them to be negroes, who, by the power of enchantment, are able to disguise themselves—*that they may not be enslaved.*"

Labat describes a species of bat, the body of which is as large as that of a pigeon: they have large wings, each furnished with two or three corners, pointed like hooks, by which they attach themselves to trees, hanging with their heads downwards. They have a brown downy skin, which the negroes strip off before they eat them. Bats are numerous, especially about Cape Mount. We know not whether the species indicated by Labat be the same as the *vespertilio nigrita* which Adanson discovered on the Senegal.

In Africa the wolf attains a larger size than in Europe: its hair is silvery, and almost white. This animal is prodigiously multiplied even upon the coast, in consequence of being unmolested by man. This state of peace with an animal usually considered highly injurious to man, arises from a notion of the negroes, that if one of them be slain all the others unite to avenge his death.

Of the dog, Labat writes—"The dogs here are very ugly, being without hair and eared like the fox. They never bark, but howl: and if foreign dogs are brought here they degenerate in regard to their voice. The negroes eat their flesh, preferring it to any other." The eating of dog's flesh, we believe, disappears with the spread of Mohammedanism, but is still retained by the pagans; and we know that dog's flesh is exposed for public sale in the markets of Whidah and Dahomey. We do not remember to have met with a single recorded instance of hunting with dogs in Western Africa.

In Colonel Hamilton Smith's recent work on 'Dogs,' there is a figure of "*The Senegal Thous Dog*" (the *Senegal Jackal* of F. Cuvier), which inhabits the uplands of Senegambia; a tall and gaunt animal, the fleetness of which is indicated by the long and slender hind-legs, which make the creature stand with the croup elevated. The animals of this (the Thoan) group differ materially from the jackal, an intermediate place between which and the wolf they appear to occupy. They do not burrow, are free from offensive odour, are not gregarious, and do not howl in concert. It is, therefore, wrong to call this the Jackal of Senegal.

There are, however, in this quarter true jackals, known by the connexion of their howl with the roar of the lion. Jobson repeats, as confirmed by his observations on the Gambia, the usual story about the jackal being the lion's provider. He says that while riding at anchor in that river, they were wont to hear at night the cry of this beast as it hunted for the lion, and noted the lion's response. Hence it became a common expression among them—"Who will go ashore and attend the chief huntsman?" This very popular story may seem to have arisen from the fact or notion that the cry of the pack of jackals gives the lion notice that prey is on foot, and to which he attends for his own advantage; and also from the jackal having been seen to feed on the remnant of the lion's quarry. The species or variety has not been distinguished: it is perhaps the common jackal, which is a great cosmopolite. Colonel Hamilton Smith, however, reports that in 1814 or 1815 there was exhibited in London a couple of grey jackals, said to have been brought from the Senegal, and of which drawings were made by him.

These animals never go alone, but always in troops, and when they wish to attack a herd of cattle they proceed in great numbers: about ten or twenty of them will give chase to antelopes, goats, and other beasts of a smaller kind: they eat all animals, and dead carcases, and the scent of corruption attracts them from a great distance. Golberry relates that he had seen above forty jackals together, employed in devouring the remains of a great fish which had been thrown on the shore. It had been dead a long time, and threw a dreadful stench to a considerable distance. "As soon as the jackals perceived any caravan they suspended their repast,

and seemed to remain in a state of hesitation. We fired several bullets at them, but were too distant to kill any: they, however, made off, and escaped along the downs. During the whole of my journey from the bar of the Senegal to the lake of Euduto the jackals followed us in troops, but always kept at a distance, sometimes remaining behind the sand-hills or downs, from the summits of which we could perceive their painted muzzles. Whenever we fired on them they disappeared, but soon afterwards returned. In this manner I observed them for the space of four days, and at night they roamed around our little camp, but some occasional discharges of musketry prevented them from approaching."

The civet cat (*viverra civetta*), as it is called, is of frequent occurrence in particular parts of this coast. The name *cat* is very improper, the animal having but little resemblance to any member of the great feline race. It is sought after chiefly on account of a thick oily matter, yielding a powerful odour, which is found collected in a sac between the thighs. This matter, when first extracted, is white, but soon becomes brown. The physical properties of musk are well known. The odour is agreeable and mild at some distance, but near at hand is unpleasant and intoxicating. The object of those who hunt the beast is to take it alive, that it may continuously yield its fragrant burden in a state of bondage. The negroes catch them in summer, while the woods are yet in bloom. They prefer the male to the female, and the wildest animals are reckoned to yield the best musk. They are not easy to breed; for, besides that they are fierce, and inflict cruel bites, their keep is expensive—the best for them being fowls, pigeons, and the like. The negroes, however, give them generally pap made of millet, with a little fish or flesh. They are kept in cages; and in a state of confinement will yield about a drachm and a half, or at most two drachms, every two or three days. The sac we have mentioned is about three inches deep, and two and a half broad; it contains several small glands, enclosing the odoriferous matter, which is extracted by pressure: the animal being secured, a small spoon is introduced into the opening of the bag, with which the membraneous divisions are gently raked or compressed, to induce them to give forth their contents. It is said that the musk of Western Africa is the best which can be anywhere obtained.

In its natural freedom the civet cat shares with the porcupine the distinction of waging a most cruel war upon the feathered tribes.

The hyæna of Western Africa is the striped species, which is the most widely-spread, and concerning which so many wonderful stories are told by the old travellers and naturalists.

[Striped Hyæna.]

Undoubtedly the hyæna is not a very amiable or very pleasant-looking creature; but its character is found to be less destitute of redeeming features than alleged in the old accounts, which seemed to make him the reprobate of the animal creation. Even the commonest of all stories respecting its untameable ferocity have been disproved; and it has been shown that, under proper treatment, there are, in fact, few animals which submit with greater facility to

the control of man. From the charge of violating the sanctuaries of death, to feed on the putrid contents of the grave, the hyæna cannot with the same ease be cleared. It is for the purpose of protecting the remains of the departed from his ravenous appetite, that the negroes in those parts (of Kayor especially) infested by it, dig a trench and plant a hedge of thorns around the grave.

The Lion in this quarter exhibits the usual attributes which distinguish him, in his native Africa, from the inferior and degenerated variety which Asia offers. Nowhere is the lion so large or so fierce as in Africa; and we are assured that, even in Africa, the lions on the shores of the Senegal and Gambia are far larger and more bold than those of Mount Atlas and Northern Africa.

In Fort St. Louis there was kept chained a large and beautiful lioness, until an opportunity should be found of sending her to France. In this state the animal was seized with a distemper in the jaws, which is reckoned fatal to the species. Unable to eat, it was soon reduced to the last extremity; and, believing it dead, the people of the fort took off the chain, and cast the body forth. In this condition she was found by the Sieur Campagnon (the discoverer of Bambouk) on his return from hunting. Her eyes were closed, her mouth open, and filled with pismires. The Sieur took pity on the noble creature; and, finding that there was still some life in her, he washed her mouth with water, and poured some warm milk down her throat. This brought her back to life, and she was taken again into the fort, where, under the Sieur's direction, all proper care was taken of her. The result was, that the grateful beast took so strong an affection towards her deliverer, that she would eat nothing but what she received from his hand; and when he went abroad would follow him about, led by a string, like a tame dog.

When the Sieur Brue was governor at the same fort, a flock of goats was brought in, recently purchased from the Moors. In the fort there was a well-fed lion, which had been kept there for four years. The poor goats no sooner caught sight of this terrible beast than they scampered off, one only excepted, who, on beholding the lordly creature, made a step back, and came with such sudden and tremendous force with his horns upon the lion's forehead, as nearly stunned him: this he repeated, until "the bestial king" was so confused and intimidated, that he crept like a dog between the Sieur Brue's feet, to get quit of so troublesome an adversary.

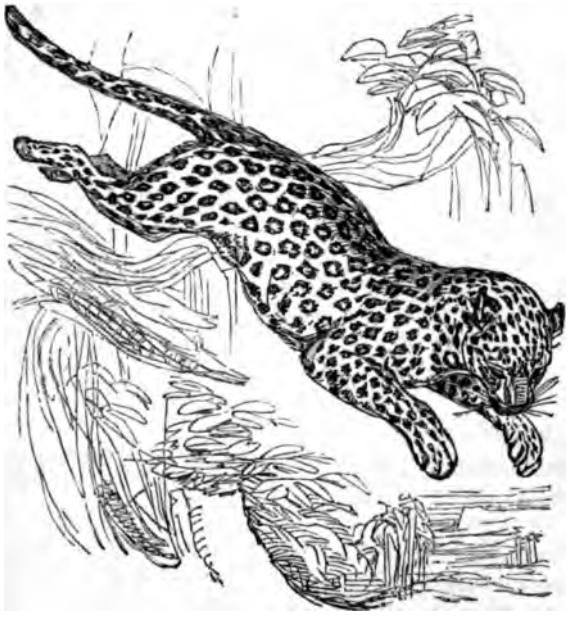
The usual method employed by the negroes in taking the lion is to dig deep trenches, covered with earth and branches of trees, on which a piece of meat is left as a bait. When thus entrapped, the noble beast is destroyed with darts and arrows, and the captors feast upon his flesh.

Adanson assures us that, in this quarter, the lion and the wolf often seek their prey together. The negroes of the coast split their larger fish, and lay them in the sun, upon the top of their huts, to dry. Now, it seems from the report of this naturalist, that lions, leopards [he says "tigers"], and wolves, are attracted into the villages by the scent and view of these fish: and then, "Woe be to the children or even the men that are found abroad!" "One night [he continues] a lion and a wolf happened to enter both together into the yard belonging to the hut where I lay: they alternately raised their fore-feet to the roof, which I could easily hear them do, and took away what they thought proper. The next day we were certain, from the impression of their feet, strongly marked in the sand, that they came together; and we discovered the place from which they had taken two fishes, one, doubtless, by each. This was moderate enough for two such voracious beasts, although certainly they had not fixed upon the smallest of the fish that lay there. I know not whether the remark has ever been made before, that the lion and the wolf prowl together; yet it is not an uncommon thing: there are daily instances of it in these parts, for almost every night the wolf is heard to howl close by the lion. The same thing I have observed myself a hundred times in my excursions up the Senegal [or, as *he* calls it, the Niger], and I am perfectly sure that the wolf associates with the lion without any apprehension of danger. Not that the size of the African wolf, which is much superior to that of the European, makes any impression upon the lion; but the reason is that he is in nowise tempted

by the flesh of the wolf. And what confirms me in this opinion is, that two lions that were brought up in the village of Senegal never attacked the dogs that were exposed to them, or that fell in their way when they were unchained;* whereas they darted instantly upon the first horse or the first child they happened to meet.

"A few days after this visit from the lion and the wolf, we received another from a tigress [leopard?], which came to the same hut along with her young one, and likewise carried off two fishes. There need only these two instances to show how lazy and indifferent are the negroes, with reference to the damage these animals do them, and the danger to which their own persons are constantly exposed. When asked, for what reason they do not either chase away these animals, or at least withdraw their fish in the night-time? they are content to answer, that all the world must live; and that it would be a greater slavery to them to take in their fish every night than to catch them. And, indeed, it must be owned, that the fishery on this coast is carried on with amazing facility, and is exceedingly productive."

The animal which the older voyagers call a tiger, is truly a Leopard, as appears from their describing it as having *spots*, not *stripes*, as well as by the annexed figure of the Senegal Leopard. In Africa the animal is much more savage than in Asia or America, and is said



[Senegal Leopard.]

often to attack animals much larger than itself—oxen, and even elephants. Its flesh is considered good eating by the negroes. The Sieur Brue used all possible means to tame one of these animals, which he had bred up at St. Louis, and to subdue its cruel disposition. Nevertheless, he was one day anxious to see how a hog would defend himself against its attack; he therefore caused one to be taken out of the herd and driven to the extremity of the isle; the leopard being then let loose upon him, the hog retreated to an angle of the fort wall, where, for some time, the leopard could gain no advantage over him; but at last he pressed upon him so closely that the alarmed hog set up a most terrible outcry, which soon brought the whole herd galloping to his relief; they all fell upon the leopard with one consent, and with such animosity, that, to save himself, he was obliged to leap into the ditch of the fort, where the assailants durst not follow.

* We do not question these facts, but we distrust the inferences. They might not attack the dogs, but it does not follow that they did not like dog's flesh; and even if they did *not* like dog's flesh, it would not follow, by any necessary consequence, that they abhorred the flesh of wolves. Inferences of this sort are not now admissible in zoological science.

There is also the hunting leopard, which has been identified, by actual comparison, with that of India. Its skin is of some importance in the traffic of Senegal. The Africans do not appear

[Hunting Leopard.]

to have discovered that latent gentleness and docility of disposition in the hunting leopard, which in India has enabled man to render it useful in the chase of other wild animals. There are four or five species of this leopard genus in Western Africa, but from the loose terms employed in descriptions by travellers, and the confused application and interchange of the terms *tiger*, *leopard*, *panther*, *ounce*, and *tiger-cat*, it is difficult to distinguish or identify them. The two species of which we have given figures are however well determined, although it is not easy to tell which of the statements given under the names we have mentioned refer to them. The "ounce" of Labat is, however, undoubtedly the hunting leopard; he does himself indeed indicate its identity with the animal which the Persians employed in hunting the gazelle; by which, and other circumstances, the recognition is much more easy than by the very horrid picture of the animal which he has furnished. He remarks that the animal has nothing ferocious in its look; yet that he is very fond of prey (which seems very natural), and prowls about the villages and enclosures for sheep or poultry. Labat had never heard that it attacked men or children. It is probably, therefore, to the previously-named species, rather than this, that we should refer the story told by Jobson, who tells that there are many "ounces" and "leopards" along the Gambia, whose skins the negroes brought for sale. He was shown a child with whom a remarkable interest was connected, from the fact that he had been rescued from the very jaws of a leopard. Being, when an infant, left on a mat at the door of the hut by the mother, while she went to the spring, an ounce took up the cloth with the child in it and made off very fast; he was met by the mother on her return from the spring, who raised a great outcry, and turned in pursuit of the savage creature. The beast happened to make his way hard by a place where the father was labouring with other people in the field, and they all turned to join in the pursuit; the ounce however still kept its hold, and continued its flight with much speed; but it happened that the child dropped out of the cloth, with which the beast still fled, while the parents recovered their child with much rapturous joy and endearments, as parents of all climates and complexions feel and exhibit when their little ones are delivered from some great danger.

Golberry speaks of a sort of Wild Cat, which he calls a serval, or tiger-cat, and which appears to us rather difficult from his description to refer to any known species. This animal much resembles the common cat in its figure, but it is larger, and its body more slender. It is of a slate-grey colour, interspersed with spots of a chamois yellow; the fur very soft to the touch,

and much larger than that of the common cat; though very wild and ferocious in the woods, it is easily tamed. There was one in the possession of the commandant at St. Louis which had the free range of the house without doing the least injury to the apes, parakeets, and other birds, which it contained; and without at any time molesting the fowl in the poultry-yard. This animal seemed generally melancholy and dejected, but he caressed his master, and appeared attached to him. He was fed on raw meat, and when a piece was thrown towards him he darted upon it with a voracity, or sort of fury; and during the whole time of eating kept up a growling, much weaker but very similar to that of the tiger.

The Lynx which inhabited Senegambia, and which indeed is found throughout Africa, is that called the booted lynx, which preys upon birds and small quadrupeds, and which has a

[Booted Lynx.]

special and most greedy appetite for the guinea fowl. Like the others of its race, it has no objection to feast on the leavings of the superior beasts of prey, and can feed on carrion with a good appetite.

A species of that singular genus of animals, the Pangolin or *Manis* tribe, is found in Senegambia and in Guinea. They are covered with a scaly armour, composed of numerous leaf-like plates, lying over each other like tiles upon a roof. Their slender cylindrical bodies and long tails give them so much the aspect of reptiles that they are usually called *scaly lizards*. They are harmless, living chiefly on insects, particularly ants, which they obtain by thrusting the projectile tongue, covered with glutinous matter, into the holes of these animals, and when a full load has been collected, drawing that organ suddenly back into the mouth. The species of Western Africa is the Long-tailed Pangolin (*manis tetradactyla*).

Elephants have been mentioned more than once in the preceding pages; and we return to them again for the sake of recording a few more facts and anecdotes. They are not of a very amusing character certainly; for the negroes, as we have already stated, have not succeeded, or even attempted to bring this true king of beasts into a state of subservience and domestication.

The elephants are said to suffer want patiently, and to be able to go for eight or ten days without sustenance. They are naturally, however, great eaters; as the negroes experience to their cost when these animals break into their plantations; a single elephant consuming more in one day than thirty men would do in eight; besides the immense quantity of produce which they destroy by trampling it down beneath their broad and heavy feet. For this reason the negroes are at great pains to keep them from their fields, either by watching them in the daytime, or by keeping up fires in the night, which deter them from approaching. When they

come into the tobacco fields they are said to intoxicate themselves with the leaf, in which state they play a thousand ludicrous gambols. Sometimes they get into a drunken sleep, in which state the negroes avenge themselves upon them for the mischief they have done.

La Maire says, that the elephants often come by night into the negro villages, and that, instead of turning out of the way of the negro-huts, they march straight on against them, and overturn them in a trice.

It seems to be agreed that the elephants offer no molestation to the natives who pass through the woods; but if they are disturbed, and if, above all, a shot be fired at them and misses, they become wild and furious. This last observation is, however, doubted by Bosman, on the evidence of an adventure which occurred under his own notice. In December, 1700, at six in the morning, an elephant came to El-Mina, on the Gold Coast, and was observed walking leisurely along shore, under the hill of St. Jago. At that place, one of the officers (Dutch) stationed on the hill, and a negro, fired at him and hit him above the eye; this, however, did not provoke him to mend his pace, he only seemed to look in the direction in which the shot came with a threatening aspect, frequently pricking up his ears, which were surprisingly large. On he went, and at length stepped into the Dutch gardens, expecting, perhaps, better treatment there. But the elephant knew not man. The governor and the author hastened down to view the sport, and found the animal standing in the midst of the garden, where, to pass the time, he broke down some nine or ten coco-trees, with as much apparent ease as a man would knock down a child. While he stood there more than 100 shot were fired at him, which made him bleed as much as if an ox had been slaughtered; yet he budged not from the spot, but only testified his displeasure by pricking up his ears.

Tempted by his passiveness, a negro, in an evil hour for him, fancied he might do what he pleased with the noble beast. He therefore stole softly round and seized him by the tail, intending to cut a piece of it off. But, great as was the animal's endurance, it could not tolerate such liberties with his tail; he gave the unhappy negro a thundering stroke with his trunk, and then, drawing him forward, trod upon him two or three times with his terrible crushing feet; and, as if that were not enough, he bored in the man's body with his tusks two holes large enough for a man's doubled fist to enter. But having thus done with the aggressor, he let him lie without further molestation; and remained himself quite still, nor offered the least opposition when two negroes advanced to take away the dead body.

After having been in the garden about an hour, the elephant wheeled about, as if to fall upon his assailants, who were about sixteen paces distant, and who took to their heels at the first hint of this intention. The animal however did not pursue them, but made towards the back door, which, although very thick, was thrown to a good distance by the apparently slight touch which the elephant gave to it. He did not, however, pass through by the aperture, but forced his way through the garden hedge, going very softly by Mount St. Jago towards the river to wash off the blood, or to cool himself. After leaving the water, he came and stood under some trees, where he testified some emotion by breaking sundry water tubs and a canoe in pieces.

Here the shooting was renewed by the relentless assailants, until at last he fell down. The negroes immediately rushed upon him to cut off his trunk, which was so hard and tough that it cost them thirty strokes to separate it. This must have been very painful to the animal, since it made him roar, having made no noise till then. After this he soon died under the tree; confirming thus the report of the negroes, who say, that when an elephant finds death approaching, he seeks the shelter of a wood or tree, there to breathe his last.

No sooner was the elephant dead, than the negroes fell upon him in crowds, each cutting off as much as he could; so that he furnished a large body of people, black and white, with as much food as they desired. It seems that the negroes like it best when it begins to be tainted, and that the tail is considered the most delicate morsel.

In explanation of the vast number of shot which this beast received before it fell, our author was told that the bullets ought to have been of iron; as those of lead (which were employed) flatten either upon the bones or the thick and hard skin; and, accordingly, when the animal was killed, it was found that few of the shot had passed through the bone into his head; some

remained between the skin and the bone; most of them, especially the small bullets, were thrown off by the hide, as if shot against a wall. Yet an Englishman, firing from a canoe in the Gambia, has been known to bring down an elephant by a single, well-aimed, iron shot.

Captain Beaver must have laboured under some defect of memory when he calls this "Bosman's dreadful detail of the rage of one of these animals that had been wounded at one of the factories on the coast:" for, in fact, the quiet endurance of the animal, rather than its rage, is the point that most engages our attention. Captain Beaver's own accounts do not appear to us to cast any doubt on that of Bosman.

"If the elephant be attacked," says this author in his 'African Memoranda,' "it will endeavour to escape by any opening that it can perceive; but if it be entirely surrounded, its rage and strength must be felt in some part of the surrounding barrier before it can be broken. When our little boat attacked the elephant in the river, finding that it could not escape, it turned upon it every time that the hunter fired, and immediately afterwards pursued its course; but when we fired at it on the shore it turned not upon any of us, because there were many openings by which it might escape into the woods. The Bijugas and Biafares have both the same mode of attacking the elephant; for which purpose they carry a very long gun, called a buccaneer, which, instead of being charged with a leaden ball, which would be of no use, is loaded with a piece of an iron rod, nearly fitting the bore of the gun, of about two inches in length. When they perceive the elephant, one person creeps through the underwood, to approach the animal unperceived to within about forty yards, or nearer if possible, and then, resting his left elbow on his knee, he takes aim, either at the flank or behind the ear, whichever may be the fairest mark; but if the animal should be in such a position as not to admit of the hunter's seeing either, he would not fire, knowing that if wounded in any other place the animal would walk off with his charge, and then he would lose all chance of killing it. The wounded animal immediately retreats; for I believe there is no instance of an elephant being directly killed at one shot. In a few minutes the hunter leisurely follows, tracing it by the blood trickling from the wound, for about one hundred yards; and then, marking the trees, he returns home. No consideration would induce one of those hunters afterwards to go in sight of an elephant on the day in which he wounded it, for he supposes it would instantly destroy him. However, the next day he sets out with a party for the spot to which he had traced it the preceding one, expecting the animal to have died of its wound, and thence resumes the pursuit; if the blood should have ceased to flow, and they are no longer able to follow the animal by that guide, they examine the grass, and observe whether it has been trodden down, and has afterwards erected itself again; and the branches of trees and underwood lately bruised and broken off; and they are so exceedingly discriminating in these things, as to be able to say, with tolerable precision, how much time has elapsed since the grass was trodden down, or the branch broken off by any animal, from the mere inspection of the bend or bruise. If by these means they again get sight of the wounded elephant, and it should not be dead, they get another shot, and repeat the same precautions; but if it should be dead, they take with them as much of the flesh as they can carry, leaving the rest to ants, vultures, and hyænas, who quickly devour it. When they suppose that it has been long enough exposed to the air for the tusks to be loosened from their sockets—for they have no means of getting them out by any instrument—they return for them. One of these goes to the king, and the other remains to the party."

Next to the elephant and the rhinoceros, the largest land animal with which we are acquainted is the Hippopotamus, or river-horse. This name seems very absurd, there being few animals which less resemble the horse: but it is possible that it may have been so named because of its voice, the usual utterance of which has some resemblance to the neighing of that animal. The Dutch, with more propriety, call the animal a sea-cow; but the resemblance is greater to the hog. The animal is much sought after on account of the tusks, which bear a much higher price than those of the elephant; for they are composed of a substance much harder and whiter than ivory, besides being covered by a still harder and whiter enamel, to which a beautiful and permanent polish can be given. These qualities recommend it to dentists for

the manufacture of artificial teeth, for which ivory is too soft.* So hard is the enamel, that, as every dentist knows, sparks are produced by striking two pieces against each other, as wel. as in grinding it to an even surface. Hence there is great probability in the statement that sparks, like those from flints, are emitted when the animal is enraged and strikes its tusks against each other.

This animal is of interest to the Christian traveller, from the very strong probability of its

[Hippopotamus]

being the Behemoth of the Sacred Scriptures. Having examined this question in another place ('Pictorial Bible,' in Job xl.) we shall not return to it here.

The river-horse is peculiar to Africa; but is now never seen in the Lower Nile, as existing in which it was known to the Israelites. In the fresh waters of Western Africa it is not uncommon; and the species (Hippopotamus Senegalenis) is supposed to be different from that of the Cape, although little if any external difference can be perceived.

Having been so much sought after, in consequence of the increasing demand for and high price of its tusks, the hippopotamus would appear to be somewhat less numerous than formerly in those parts. In our older accounts we find Captain Stibbs describing them as being so numerous above Barraconda (on the Gambia), that there was no sleeping from their noise: and Moore describes them as abounding in all parts of that river. In the Senegal it is comparatively scarce.

The animal lives more on shore than on the water, under which he cannot remain above three-quarters of an hour without coming up to breathe, after which he again plunges to the bottom. He often lands to sleep among the reeds, and his loud snorings betray him to the hunters. In this situation he is easily surprised and killed, provided he is approached very softly; for he is very quick of hearing, and on the least alarm hastens to plunge into the water.

* In fact, artificial *teeth* are only made with this substance; but artificial gums to receive natural teeth are made with the tusks of the walrus, which, although softer than those of the hippopotamus, are harder than ivory.

He walks tolerably fast on even ground, and when he tries his best; but even then he is not able to keep pace with a horse, or even with a man who runs well, as all the negroes do. This makes them attack him the more boldly, especially when they can surprise him at a distance from the river and cut off his retreat: for he always seeks rather to escape, than to act in his own defence; and if he can get to the water plunges at once to the bottom; but soon rises, shakes his ears, and, looking around on those who have disturbed him, neighs, and dives again to the bottom. He swims in the water much faster than he walks on land; but, as far as man is concerned, he is stronger and more dangerous on land than in the water. The river-horses swim in the rivers with their heads up, blowing the water through their nostrils like whales, and grunting and bellowing hideously. They are much dreaded by the negroes, from their habit of landing in the cultivated fields, where they tread down and destroy ten times the quantity of produce which they consume. Although they are herbaceous, and live chiefly upon the plants which grow beyond the ken of man, at the bottom of the rivers, they are said to eat fish occasionally, and to have no objection to devour such animals as by mere accident fall into their power; for they are too slow and unwieldy to catch fish or animals in the usual way. Remembering the habits of the hog, in this respect, we would not like to deny this without the means of positive contradiction. The fishermen, knowing that with one stroke of his tusks the river-horse could do more injury to their nets than one of them could repair in a fortnight, are said to throw a fish to any one that approaches, on receiving which he withdraws. The negroes say that the hippopotamus will devour even men and women if he finds them asleep; and believe that he is a greater enemy to the whites than to the blacks: and remembering authenticated and even recent instances of hogs devouring children, it would be perilous to deny this, although we may class it rather among things to be proved than among proven things.

The skin of the hippopotamus is very hard—so hard that musket-balls have no effect, and darts and arrows are lost upon him, unless he be hit in the belly or between the thighs. Hence the negroes, who will attack the crocodile and the shark with their knives, are afraid to venture upon the river-horse unless they can take him at very great advantage. If attacked in the water he rushes with fury upon the assailants, often tearing large pieces out of the solid boat with his teeth, making such a hole in the bottom as causes it to sink. Many instances of this occur in authors; but it does not appear that on such occasion the men become singly the objects of his rage, even when they are thrown into the water. Europeans used to endeavour to break the animal's legs with cross-bar shot, and when they had him down they could deal with him safely.

The females bring forth and suckle their young on shore. They are said to have four at a birth, which, if true, may account for their numbers; for we are told that, in some of the rivers on this coast, droves of three or four hundred have been seen at one time. In the southern part of this coast, beyond our limit, the hippopotamus is looked upon with superstitious regard as a sort of *Fetish*: yet the people scruple not to feed upon him. The negroes generally admire its flesh greatly; but although it is fat, and has a good grain, it has a sort of taste and smell which is, at least in the first instance, unpleasant to all Europeans—except perhaps the Portuguese settlers, by whom it is relished. It is liked better roasted, or ragoued, than boiled; and the breast, dressed in the former way, is counted as good as veal. The flesh of the young ones is very good.

Second in bulk only to the elephant, but far less worthy and excellent than he, comes the Rhinoceros. But although this animal is found in Kongo, and thence southward to the Cape, we have met with no instance of its being found in Senegambia, and it is therefore excluded from our present notice.

The Wild Hog abounds in the mountains and forests of this coast. The species *Phascochœrus Africanus*, which is found from Senegal to the Cape, is specifically the same as that of Ethiopia. It is allied to the wild boar in its habits, and is as fierce and savage. It is chiefly distinguished by a pair of large lobes or wattles beneath the eyes; and the tusks of the upper jaw bend semicircularly towards the forehead. Like other animals not carnivorous, it

inflicts no wilful injury on man or beast. But when assailed its fury kindles very soon, and, rushing on its adversary with great force and swiftness, it often inflicts the most cruel and sometimes fatal wounds. The negroes hold in high esteem its flesh for food. The species appears to have been first described by Adanson.

[African Wild Boar.]

The Horses are of Arab or rather Moorish breed, and are very swift. They are seldom above twelve hands high, are well formed, and tolerably strong and spirited. They generally either walk or gallop, and are trained to stop suddenly when at full speed. They are treated and accoutred precisely in the Moorish manner, and the saddle, bridle, bit, and stirrup, are precisely the same as among the Turks and Moors—having, in fact, been introduced into the country south of the Senegal, along with the horse itself, by the Moors. The horses are not shod, even in Foota-jallon, where the country is mountainous and the roads very rough. The best in the country are those which are reared by and bought from the Moors. Some of the kings and great ones possess barbs of much beauty and value. The Siratik of Brue's time had a number of barbs of exquisite beauty for his own royal riding, which he valued at fifteen slaves each: and we have already noticed the milk-white steed of Bemoy Haman Scaka, with its flowing mane and long tail that swept the ground. South of the Gambia few horses are found, and soon became altogether unknown, except as kept by Europeans for their own riding. The same may be very nearly said of the ass, which, although common enough on the Senegal and Gambia, becomes scarce even sooner than the horse; in fact, equinoctial regions are not congenial to these animals, or, as far as we know, to any other of the equine race.

Very few animals of the deer kind are found in Africa. It is known, however, that the red-deer (*cervus elaphus*) is found in some parts of Northern Africa; and from Labat we learn the interesting fact that they come in vast flocks from the countries lying north of the Senegal, for the sake of pasture, which is the most abundant on the south side of the river. The negroes take care to make them pay for the subsistence; for they take large numbers of them by firing the grass, when it is dry, in March and April.

Africa is the head-quarters of the Antelope genus. Of the seventy known species in the

world, fifty belong to Africa alone. Labat and others speak of the Gazelle; and his figure is a tolerably fair likeness of the animal so called by naturalists (*antilope dorcas*), which, however, is not that to which the name is given in Arabia. It may be doubted whether they are seen much to the south of the Senegal. They are gentle, and easily tamed. Their speed is great, though inferior to that of the true gazelle; but they cannot run well on uneven ground; and from the relative proportions of their fore and hind legs, they can run up an ascent much better than down. Its flesh is very delicate, and hence the animal is one of the principal objects of chase in this quarter.

Passing by the timid and gentle *antilope forfex* (probably the Gambian Antelope of Pennant), and *antilope adenota*, we come to that which is called in the Jaloof language the *guib*, which derives its technical name (*antilope scripta*) from the narrow transverse bars, or ribbons, of pure white, which pass obliquely down from the dorsal line, or on the ribs and hips, and crossed by two longitudinal bars of the same colour drawn from hip to shoulder; the whole presenting to the distant spectator the appearance of a set of small harness. This species inhabits from the Senegal to Sierra Leone, and is said to form extensive herds, which frequent equally the forests and open plains.

[Antilope Dorcas.]

The Koba is described by the French writers under the name of the *grande vache brune*, or large brown cow. It is in size equal to the European stag. It is of a brown colour, and it is invested with a coat of long rough hair. Its figure is best seen by the cut in the next page, except that it has usually horns about twenty inches long. Specimens of this animal have recently been seen in the metropolitan menageries: but of its habits in a state of nature little is known. Labat tells us that their motions are as light and swift as those of the stag; and that the flesh is a very superior article of food.

There is also the Kob, called by the French *petite vache brune*, or little brown cow, which is described as being equal in size to the fallow deer, and of similar colour to the koba. We leave it, and pass by the *nagor* and the Four-tufted Antelope, to reach the Bush Antelope, called bush goat by the English at Sierra Leone. This is one of the most ungainly and heavy animals of the tribe to which it belongs, owing to its thick and clumsy head, and to the disproportion between the short and slender legs and large and heavy body. It frequents the thickets and underwoods of the hills and upland plains, and quits its cover only at early dawn for the purpose of feeding in the neighbouring meadows: that is its fatal hour; for the hunters, aware of this habit, and coveting its excellent venison, station themselves along the margin of the wood and shoot it as it comes out to graze.

[The Koba.]

The Guevi (*antilope pygmæa*) was first mentioned by Adanson, and is certainly the least known, as it is said to be the very smallest of the whole antelope genus. The horns are about two inches long, the legs not thicker than a goosequill, the height not above nine inches, and the colour a reddish brown. Notwithstanding its diminutive size, the guevi makes no difficulty of bounding over a wall twelve feet high. It is easily domesticated, but is not able to endure the cold of a European climate. Adanson speaks of a still smaller variety, an inhabitant of Kayor, and not larger than a Norway rat.

Other species of Western African antelopes have been named, and some described; but the above are all which it seems needful to bring under the reader's notice.

Sheep are common enough on and between the rivers Senegal and Gambia. They are chiefly of two species. One of them, which is covered with wool, appears, from the description of its

[African Fat-tailed Sheep.]

tail, to be the same as the fat-tailed sheep of Egypt and Northern Africa. It is distinguished from the fat-tailed breed of Western Asia by the recurvation in which the tail terminates. This tail is everywhere accounted a delicacy. The other species stands higher on the legs, and is covered with hair like a goat; these are larger, fatter, and stronger than the former. This is the proper Guinea sheep; and is chiefly distinguished from other species by its remarkably meagre appearance, and length of neck and limbs, pendent ears, and long arched or curved visage. These sheep are seldom white; generally black, brown, red, or yellowish. They have two short horns. The travellers speak of their having four, or even six horns; but if so, those with four and those with six horns must be different varieties or species. But the subject is involved in some obscurity from the loose way in which information is given. The flesh of the Guinea sheep is good and tender; and, from the abundance of both species, mutton is very cheap in the countries on and between the Senegal and Gambia.

Captain Beaver writes:—"Although sheep are in great plenty on the Gambia, to the north, and on the south shore of the Nunez, yet they have never been introduced into those countries bordering on the sea, between that river and Cape Roxo. The natives have as many cattle and goats as they can rear, and therefore think it folly to domesticate another animal, for which they have not any occasion. For the same reason they have neither tame ducks nor geese; there are numerous wild ones, but the common fowl they think alone worth taming."

Goats are abundant in the countries thus indicated as destitute of the sheep, while they are comparatively scarce in those where sheep abound. There are two domesticated species, both of them smaller than the common goat with which we are familiar. One of them is the Dwarf African, which is not much larger than the full-grown kid of the common species. The horns are short, thick, and triangular; and under the chin appear two hairy wattles, which are very distinctive, but wanting in the female. The hair of the male is rough and pendulous, while that of the female is smooth and short. The other species is (we believe, but are not perfectly certain) the species which takes the name of Whidah Goat (*capra reversa*), from the kingdom of that name in Guinea, where it was first properly noticed. This is about the size of a year-old kid of the common species. It differs from that already noticed, chiefly by the different form of the horns, and the want of the hairy wattles on the throat. The flesh of both is said to be much better and sweeter than that of our common goat.

We have no reason to know that the Buffalo of Western is the same as that South African species to which the name of the Caffrarian Ox (*Bos Caffer*) has been given. Apart from any question respecting the species, it appears that buffaloes occur in the country under our survey in numerous herds. Captain Beaver writes:—"These animals are dangerous if met with in a large clear tract of ground, or in a savannah; for although they will sometimes take fright and run away, at others they will run directly at you, when those who are not acquainted with the Spanish mode of bull-fighting run great risk of being killed. Wherever there is a tree there is security; but in the centre of a cleared spot of 100 acres I had rather meet with as many elephants than one buffalo. These animals are generally found, during the greatest part of the day, in the dry season, almost totally immerged in the water, little more than their heads appearing above it. Their flesh is coarse and rank. The natives approach them as they do the elephant, and shoot them with iron instead of lead."

These countries abound in black cattle. The oxen are large and the cows much smaller. In consequence of the heat of the summer and the dryness of the pasturage, and still more, perhaps, because there is no system of feeding animals for slaughter, the beef is much less juicy and much leaner than our own. The cows give plenty of milk, but only during the time in which they suckle the calves. Butter is nevertheless very common and very cheap. In some parts these animals are employed for carriage as well as riding. In Bissos the cows supply the place of horses, and pace easily and well. The vast quantities of hides which used to be, and are still, exported from these parts, and the low price at which they might be obtained, indicate the vast numbers of the cattle in these countries. The Tin (king) of the small territory of Baol was reckoned in the Sieur Brue's time to possess 5000 head of cattle. The woods are full of them, in herds of 300 or 400, attended by a negro, who drives them at night within an enclosure or fence near the village, to secure them from wild beasts. Captain

Beaver alludes to "the beautiful little domesticated breed of cattle" of the isles and part of the continent adjacent to Bulama, but of this we possess no further information.

South of the Senegal the species of Oxen are the same as to the north of that river, from which quarter, that is to say from the borders of the Sahara, large supplies of oxen (as well as of horses) are constantly passing into the south. Golberry says that in the numerous herds he saw, he distinguished two species of oxen: one was smaller than the common kind of European oxen, and more gentle and active, but quite similar in other respects; the other species is large and strong, has a hunch upon its shoulders, and looks like a degenerate species of bison. These hunchbacked oxen are generally larger and higher than any French breeds: they have a very extensive beard which reaches almost to the ground; their horns are fine, and almost come in contact at the points; but the distinctive character of this species is the large fleshy wen which rises between the shoulders: this mass of flesh forms a projection of nearly a foot in height, and is considered a delicious morsel by African epicures. These animals are strong and docile: the Moors like to ride upon them because their pace is gentle: instead of a bit they pass a cord of camel's hair through their nostrils; to this substitute for a bit they fix smaller cords, which serve for reins, and which pass and hang over the hunch at the animal's back. They are saddled in the same manner as the horse, and without requiring much excitement or irritation they go at a very quick rate, and can travel from twelve to fifteen leagues without appearing fatigued. They are susceptible of attachment to the person who habitually attends and rides them, and are obedient to his commands. Their flesh is good, tender, and juicy; and their produce equal to that of oxen in general.

The manner in which large herds of these animals are poured into the countries south of the Senegal is very clearly described by the same intelligent traveller, and offers a very interesting exhibition:—"The Moors pass over Africa with herds of 400 oxen at a time, which they sell at upwards of a thousand leagues [this *must* be a mistake] from their deserts. They perform these journeys under the protection of the negro princes through whose states they travel, but more particularly by favour of their amulets, which are profusely distributed by their Marabouts.

"It is uncommonly interesting to see these barbarians, with their numerous herds, cross the largest rivers of Africa. I twice enjoyed this sight; the first time at Albreda, in the River Gambia, and the second time at the Isle of Senegal." That which he proceeds to describe is what he beheld on the former of these occasions. The herd contained above 400 oxen, and the river at the point indicated is stated to be above 3500 toises wide.

"The herd was collected on the shore to the south of Albreda, where the Moors let them rest for several days, without suffering them to graze. The conductors of the herd were 120 in number, armed with muskets, darts, sabres, and poniards. When they had resolved on crossing the river, they caused their oxen to be collected together, and suddenly made a great shouting. They then selected forty animals from the herd, who were destined to form an advanced guard, and were considered as if they possessed a charm: from this a select body was again chosen, of those who were the best swimmers, and were at the same time the strongest and most docile. Ten men were selected to conduct this advanced guard, and each of these conductors seemed to be very careful in the selection of the beast which was to take him across the river. Nine of these leaders were from fifteen to eighteen years of age, one only was between forty and fifty. Across the horns of each ox was fixed a cord of camel's hair, about four feet in length. They then mounted their oxen in a standing posture, their feet firmly planted against the hump on the animal's back: they keep their bodies erect, but inclining slightly backward, and supported themselves by means of the cord fixed to the horns of the beast. Each of the men carried his own arms and clothing upon his head.

"Everything being thus ready, the advanced body was conducted to the bank of the river; the leaders then raised loud outcries, which were answered by the foremost cattle, and repeated by the Moors and beasts of the main body. Immediately after the advanced guard entered the river, excited by the noise of their conductors. The eldest of the Moors led the van: his ox made way through the current with great resolution; the others followed with little hesitation, being incessantly stimulated by the voice and action of their young riders.

"When they were all in the water, nothing could be more singular than the scene. Only the heads of the oxen were visible, and the upper part of the bodies of the conductors, who, leaning backwards, held firmly by the cords, which gave them support. The chief of the file continued to lead the van, the others following exactly in his wake. Three hours were passed by these, the prime of the herd, in crossing the river, during which the main body continued in their former station, on the north bank of the river, close by the water side, with their eyes fixed most attentively on the progress of those who were making the passage. When all these had landed on the other side, their conductors suddenly raised three tremendous shouts, which were answered by three bellowings of their oxen, and the noise was distinctly heard by the main body on the opposite bank. These signals were repeated by the Moors and oxen of the principal troop, and then one might easily perceive the strong impatience which the animals evinced in all their motions to join their comrades who had passed to the other side. The whole troop was then collected without delay; and twenty oxen, mounted by twenty men in the same manner as before, were chosen to lead the way. Five of these entered first and placed themselves at the head of the troop, very near to each other, the rest of the select band came after, and these were immediately followed by the whole herd, which were at once involved in the flowing tide. The sight was now much finer than before, on account of the greater number of men and cattle. Several of the young Moors occasionally swam about among the beasts (obviously to prevent confusion and rectify disorders), supporting themselves by their horns."

It is thus that the Moors and their oxen cross the largest rivers, and never allow themselves to be interrupted or impeded by the waters in the direction they incline to take.

Crocodiles are nowhere more common than in the waters of Western Africa. They are found in nearly all the rivers that empty themselves into the sea between Cape Blanco and Cape Palmas. The figure and habitudes of this animal have too often been described to require notice. They have not a bad reputation, for if such an accident does happen as that of a crocodile seizing upon a child while bathing in the river, or a leopard conveying off a goat, it is always referred to the effect of witchcraft. It is held that it is not a real crocodile or leopard which has committed the depredation, but a witch under one of those assumed forms. It seems, however, that the instances in which the crocodile does any injury are very rare. The Sieur Brue affirms that at the mouth of the Rio San Domingo (north of Sierra Leone) the crocodiles are not only harmless to man, but that children play with them, riding on their backs, and sometimes beating them, without their showing the least resentment. The natives account for this by the great care they take to bury their dead and all their offals at such a distance from the seashore that the sharks cannot smell them. In these mistakes of savages, attributing sentiments to animals, there is something not unpleasant.

It does not appear, however, that the crocodile is equally harmless in all places. On some parts of the coast he is injurious to man and beast. Brue says that the negroes sometimes attack them with poniards and kill them; and he mentions a Laptot of St. Louis who was in the almost daily habit of doing this, and generally succeeded, although once he was sadly mauled, and had certainly been killed had not his companions rescued him from the crocodile, which had given him several wounds.

Indeed, Golberry tells us the negroes generally are not afraid of these formidable creatures (which, he says, are sometimes fifteen feet long), but attack them with courage both on land and in the water, and eat their flesh with pleasure. In the market of the Isle of St. Louis large pieces of crocodile's flesh might daily be seen, sold by weight, and bought with avidity by the negroes. This traveller relates that he ventured himself to taste the flesh of "these voracious and nasty animals." He took care to select a part that was reputed to be the most savoury and palatable, and to have it well seasoned with pimento and other spices; but the strong and musky smell of the meat predominated. It is also very hard, and can be made tender by no dressing; "and, in short," says Golberry, pronouncing sentence, "I considered the dish as detestable."

END OF WESTERN AFRICA.

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